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ABSTRACT

This report contains three studies on diversity in college classrooms. Following a review of the historical background in the introduction, Part 1, "University Faculty Views about the Value of Diversity on Campus and in the Classroom," offers a discussion of various diversity issues, such as institutional and departmental values; effects on classrooms, research, and teaching; negative effects; student benefits; responses of faculty; and comparisons of male and female responses. Part 2, titled "College Missions, Faculty Teaching, and Student Outcomes in a Context of Low Diversity," analyzes the content of mission statements of top selective liberal arts colleges; discusses the experience at Macalester College; and summarizes the case for diversity. Part 3, "The Educational Possibility of Multi-Racial/Multi-Ethnic College Classrooms," attempts to understand the outcomes that result from interactions among diverse students by describing a qualitative study of specific interactive classrooms. Three overarching themes emerge: (1) racial and ethnic diversity is necessary but not sufficient for creating the most effective educational environment; (2) racial and ethnic diversity increases the educational possibilities of the classroom; and (3) multiracial/multiethnic classes enhance educational outcomes. Appended, as Part 4, is the faculty classroom diversity questionnaire, which focuses on faculty attitudes toward diversity at their institutions and in their own classrooms. All sections of the document contain references. (RH)

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Does Diversity Make a Difference?

Three Research Studies on Diversity in College Classrooms

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Three Research Studies on

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Introduction

The dramatic transformation in the composition of the student population of America's colleges and universities over the past generation is unparalleled in the history of Western higher education. In the early 1960s, with the exception of students attending historically black colleges and universities, only a relative handful of Americans of color went to college in the United States; today, upwards of one in five undergraduates at four-year schools is a minority.

The intensification of the civil rights movement and President Lyndon B. Johnson's War on Poverty in the mid-1960s prompted the nation to respond to the reality that Americans of color did not have equal access to education, jobs, housing, or other valued resources. This inequality was built into the fabric of most social institutions–public and private. Many traditionally white colleges and universities, prodded by the concerns of their students, began to recognize their failure to extend educational opportunities to black Americans in particular. They also became aware of the many judicial decisions pertaining to equal educational opportunity. The most influential of these was the landmark 1954 Supreme Court decision in *Brown* v. *Board of Education,* which ultimately led to the integration of many public school systems. This multicultural revolution, which arose in large measure alongside college and university efforts to recruit minority students, played a major role not only in the social and economic advancement of millions of Americans of color, but also in the contributions these individuals have made to the social, cultural, and economic well-being of the nation.[1]

When white institutions first reached out to students and faculty of color, they did so in the belief that they would be the primary beneficiaries of the traditional education the schools offered. Only slowly did white educators begin to discover that they had as much to learn as to teach; that their historical constituency–white Americans–also secured unexpected benefits from education in a multicultural environment; and that the Socratic model of learning by dialogue across similarities and differences of belief, theory, and experience could be expanded to include race and ethnicity as valued forms of difference. Today, hundreds of colleges and universities recognize the educational value of diversity and view student and faculty diversity as an essen-

Today, hundreds of colleges and universities recognize the educational value of diversity and view student and faculty diversity as an essential resource for optimizing teaching and learning.

tial resource for optimizing teaching and learning. Race-sensitive practices, initially introduced to redress past wrongs, have evolved into policies that support essential educational goals–including, but not limited to, learning from dialogue across difference. Exercising a right that education institutions traditionally have enjoyed–the right to determine what they wish to teach their students and how they wish to teach it–colleges and universities have tried to build multicultural learning communities.

In order to increase access and expand institutional diversity, many colleges and universities have long engaged in such activities as the recruitment of underrepresented students, high school mentoring and tutorial programs, articulation agreements with community colleges, need-based financial aid awards, and race-sensitive admissions policies. Tools such as these are indispensable to achieving a diverse campus environment.

Taking race and ethnic origin into account in admissions decisions is one of the most controversial of these practices. Race-inclusive admissions were recognized by the Supreme Court in its 1978 decision in *Regents of the University of California* v. *Bakke.* In Justice Powell's opinion, the Court affirmed universities' right to consider race as one of a number of factors for diversity that contributes to the "robust exchange of ideas." The Court also indicated that such race-conscious affirmative action programs must be narrowly tailored to serve the compelling interest of diversity in higher education. Furthermore, the Court noted that education institutions are best suited to determine how to develop admission criteria that will maximize the learning experience for all students.

Many higher education faculty members and administrators are deeply concerned that abandonment of race-sensitive admissions and hiring, at a time when most minority groups continue to be underrepresented in higher education, will severely limit campus diversity and will undermine the learning environment for all students.

In recent years, however, subsequent decisions by lower federal courts (such as the initial Fifth Circuit decision in *Hopwood* v. *Texas),* popular referenda (such as Proposition 209 in California and Initiative 200 in Washington), and institutional policies responding to these two mandates (such as the University of Florida Board of Higher Education's decision to end affirmative action in admissions) have called into question the diversity rationale as articulated in *Bakke,* resulting in cutbacks of race-conscious affirmative action around the country. Many higher education faculty members and administrators are deeply concerned that abandonment of race-sensitive admissions and hiring, at a time when most minority groups continue to be underrepresented in higher education, will severely limit campus diversity and will undermine the learning environment for all students.

More recently, legal challenges to admissions policies have asserted individuals' "rights" to be selected without reference to race over institutions' "rights" to create diverse communities with race-sensitive admissions policies. Yet, those policies were put in place to better fulfill institutions' educational goals for *all* students on campus. And Justice Powell's *Bakke* opinion recognized this interest of colleges and universities as warranted by the Constitution.

For many years, institutions assumed that racial and ethnic diversity contributed to the "robust exchange of ideas on campus" without attempting to articulate or examine the relationship between the two. The need for empirical research on the actual educational impact of racial and ethnic diversity on the learning environment has become clear in light of the recent challenges to race-conscious affirmative action policies. Accordingly, a team of researchers examined the attitudes and experiences of faculty members, based on their professional judgment as frontline educators, with regard to the impact of racial and ethnic diversity on the teaching and learning experience. The studies presented here indicate that racial and ethnic diversity on campus provides educational benefits for *all* students–minority and white alike–that cannot be duplicated in a racially and ethnically homogeneous setting.

The studies in this monograph are representative of a developing body of research that reports on whether faculty members and administrators at colleges using race-sensitive admissions find that the resulting diversity actually helps the institution achieve its educational goals. During the more than 20 years that have passed since the *Bakke* decision, scholars have paid little attention to faculty members' and administrators' experiences regarding the educational impact of racial and ethnic diversity. Instead, research has focused either on access–the factors that increase or decrease the availability of a college education to minority students[2]–or adaptation–how students of color adjust to a college environment, what their experiences and retention rates are, and what kinds of support programs and campus climates they face.[3] Similarly, two comprehensive reviews of the literature on diversity[4] report that research tended, at least until 1997, to focus on the experiences of students of color–how racial and ethnic diversity has increased on college campuses, which types of programs benefit students of color, how students of color have benefited from such programs, and how institutions can create campus climates that are supportive of students of color.

This research has expanded our understanding of how colleges and universities best serve minority students, but empirical data on whether and how racial and ethnic diversity influences teaching methods, course content, learning environment, and overall academic quality remain scarce. In effect, the theory of diversity as a compelling interest (as articulated by Justice Powell in *Bakke)* created an opportunity and a need for institutions to demonstrate the educational benefits of racial and ethnic diversity from the educator's perspective. But researchers have not examined whether the experts–college administrators and faculty members–actually find that diversity produces positive outcomes. Nevertheless, the limited scholarship that does exist has consistently shown that racial and ethnic diversity has both direct and indirect positive effects on the educational outcomes and experiences of college students.[5] For example, we know from faculty members and students themselves that cross-racial interaction and overall satisfaction with

The limited scholarship that does exist has consistently shown that racial and ethnic diversity has both direct and indirect positive effects on the educational outcomes and experiences of college students.

college are higher at more racially and ethnically diverse colleges and universities[6] and that racial and ethnic diversity has a direct positive influence on student outcomes and students' beliefs about the quality of education they received.[7] Empirical evidence from both faculty and student reports of their experiences also indicates that an institution's racial and ethnic diversity has positive educational benefits for all students.[8]

This volume adds to these studies by examining the influence of racial and ethnic diversity on learning and teaching in the classroom. The paper by Geoffrey Maruyama and José F. Moreno reports and analyzes results of the first comprehensive, nationwide survey of major universities' faculty members' attitudes toward diversity at their institutions and in their own classrooms. The findings indicate that there are good educational reasons for universities to recruit and admit a diverse student population. Faculty members said they believe that diversity helps all students achieve the essential goals of a college education; that white students suffer no adverse effects from classroom diversity; that their institutions value racial and ethnic diversity; and that campus diversity is desirable and beneficial for all students and faculty. More than 90 percent of faculty members indicated that a diverse classroom environment diminishes neither student quality nor intellectual substance. A substantial number of teachers reported that they utilize student diversity to enrich their classes, and between one-third and one-half of faculty members cited positive benefits from diversity in the classroom. Perhaps the most striking and telling survey finding is that faculty members strongly believe that racially and ethnically diverse classrooms enrich the educational experience of white students.

Perhaps the most striking and telling survey finding is that faculty members strongly believe that racially and ethnically diverse classrooms enrich the educational experience of white students.

Roxane Harvey Gudeman considers faculty survey evidence similar to Maruyama's and Moreno's but from a different perspective, showing how the definition of educational efficacy at any particular institution is inextricably bound up with that institution's mission, as are the tools perceived to be essential for accomplishing that mission. She demonstrates that selective liberal arts colleges, and, by extension, most colleges and universities, have a wide range of educational goals, including academic excellence; learning diverse perspectives from people of diverse races, ethnicities, and cultures; commitment to community; and personal and moral growth. The definition of education and educational outcomes is not and ought not to be narrowed to any one of these, she argues, for such parochialism dramatically and dangerously limits educational possibility.

Taking Macalester College as a particular case of the relationship between an institution's mission and faculty perceptions of the college's commitment to the mission, faculty members' personal commitment to that mission, and faculty judgment as to whether a diverse environment enhances students' educational experience, Gudeman finds that diversity is judged to have great educational value and is inextricably bound to the college's mission. At the

same time, Macalester students are often unable to benefit from diversity in as many as 40 percent of the college's classes. Any institution–whatever the total size of its student body, and however much it values having diverse perspectives represented in the classroom–may find that too many of its discussion-sized classes will have no student of color, or at best a single student of color enrolled. The inability to enact its mission, despite a nearly universal desire to do so, diminishes Macalester's ability to fulfill its educational potential. This is the result of insufficient diversity among Macalester's student population.

If the behaviors and attitudes of the students and faculty members Patricia Marin observed and cataloged at the University of Maryland are typical of classrooms at other similar universities (and there is little reason to believe they are not) then barring higher education institutions from access to a diverse student population denies them a singularly important tool for preparing students for their own futures and for the future of our society. Marin's conclusions suggest that faculty members who recognize and use diversity as an educational tool; who include content related to diversity in their courses; who employ active learning methods; and who create an inclusive, supportive classroom climate can and do produce enhanced educational outcomes in classes comprising a racial and ethnic mix of students. And the more faculty members and students experience such multi-racial and multi-ethnic interactive classrooms, the more prepared they are to teach and interact in similar classrooms.

Attention to multicultural learning extends the meaning of personal, social, and moral growth and improves the capacity of colleges and universities to achieve their missions.

More than 150 years ago, America's historically white colleges and universities began to extend the promise of higher education to women and people of color. But for too long, these acts of inclusion were perceived simply as extending the educational opportunities enjoyed by majority white males to others. Now we know that education is a two-way exchange that benefits all who participate in the multicultural marketplace of ideas and perspectives. This new vision has supplanted an idea of education in which disciplinary and cultural experts transmit their privileged views to others–a perspective far more likely to have been held by people outside the academy than by those within colleges and universities themselves. Rarely have America's great institutions of higher learning focused only on acquiring disciplinary expertise. Rather, their missions have long included the educational goals of personal, moral, and social development, as well as service to society, and they have valued in potential students a range of attributes that betoken openness to these characteristics of learning. Attention to multicultural learning extends the meaning of personal, social, and moral growth and improves the capacity of colleges and universities to achieve their missions.

This country has benefited beyond measure from this new vision of what it means to learn and what it means to teach. Part of the evidence is a vibrant economy, a rich array of social and political activists committed to civic participation, and the remarkable surge of productivity and creativity in our music,

art, and literature. It is hoped that the studies presented here will further demonstrate that racial and ethnic diversity in the classroom and on campus is essential to the continuation of these touchstones of a civilized nation.

ENDNOTES

[1] Today, highly educated persons of color are more likely than white Americans to choose service careers (Bowen & Bok, 1998).

[2] See, for example, Allen, 1988; Gándara, 1995; Justiz, Wilson, & Bjork, 1994; Olivas, 1985; Orfield & Miller, 1998; Rendon, 1989.

[3] See, for example, Astin, 1993; Cabrera & Nora, 1996; Hurtado, 1992, 1994; Nettles, Thoeny, & Gosman, 1986; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991; Smith, 1989.

[4] Appel, Cartwright, Smith & Wolf, 1996 and Smith, 1997.

[5] For extensive reviews of the developing literature, see Appel et al., 1996; Milem, 1997; Milem & Hakuta, 2000; Smith, 1997.

[6] Astin, 1993; Chang, 1997; Gurin, 1999; Orfield & Whitla, 1999; Villalpando, 1994.

[7] Gurin, 1999; Orfield & Whitla, 1999.

[8] Appel et al., 1996; Milem, 1997; Milem & Hakuta, 2000; Smith, 1997.

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University Faculty Views About the Value of Diversity on Campus and in the Classroom

GEOFFREY MARUYAMA, PH.D. and JOSÉ F. MORENO

Most American colleges and universities have held that all students benefit when campuses reflect a broad range of intellectual and social perspectives, and that attracting a diverse student population is an important part of establishing an environment that broadens students' perspectives. Yet certain individuals and groups have challenged the use of admissions practices designed to achieve a diverse student body on the grounds that such practices favor students of color and discriminate against specific white applicants. Even though the college participation rates of students from various ethnic and racial groups have reflected historical patterns of discrimination and disproportionate allocation of resources, courts have ruled that those patterns may not be used to justify diverse student bodies. Courts also have limited the ability of college admissions policies to favor individuals from particular groups in order to remedy those patterns. They have disallowed arguments drawn from past acts or even patterns of discrimination, permitting remedies that may favor subgroups only for practices that disadvantage current students from those subgroups (e.g., Alger, 1998). As a result, much uncertainty surrounds colleges' and universities' efforts to achieve diversity within their student bodies.

This uncertainty highlights a key diversity-related controversy in American higher education: How does a public university decide whom to admit and whom not to admit? Groups that have challenged admissions decisions have used objective information such as standardized test scores and high school class rank to argue that admissions policies are not fair. College admissions decisions, however, are more complex than that; they take into account an array of student background variables, potentially including parents' educational attainment, socioeconomic status, urban/suburban/rural home, region of the state and country, the secondary school's reputation, students' engagement and accomplishment in non-curricular activities, as well as students' cultural, ethnic, and racial background. Finally, and perhaps most important, colleges and universities typically seek to enroll a student body that reflects their core beliefs and values.

An earlier version of this paper (Maruyama & Gudeman) was presented at the conference, "Educating All of One Nation," in Albuquerque, New Mexico, in October 1999. The opinions expressed in this paper are those of the authors and should not be viewed as representing the views of the authors' institutions. A version of this paper with additional technical information is available from the authors.

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Institutions articulate goals tied to their underlying values and align their admissions policies to attract students who share those values. Those values and aspirations are articulated at the level of the university *and* are expressed in personal interactions as well as classroom and community experiences. Universities have long valued diversity. In fact, diverse views are the backbone of universities, for they stimulate new ideas and creations (see, e.g., Gudeman, in press). The belief that knowledge or understanding flourishes best in a climate of vigorous debate dates back to the Socratic tradition, but it is also a part of current multicultural and post-modern perspectivism (Haskell, 1996; Nussbaum, 1997). For hundreds of years, colleges and universities have operated on the premise that knowledge is best organized within disciplinary communities of experts and that these communities are enriched by debating alternative ideas while engaged in skepticism, scrutiny, and constructive criticism. Over time, as the academy has become more diverse, basic assumptions of the disciplinary model–such as neutrality, objectivity, and common truth–have been subjected to debate and scrutiny. Critical examination of assumptions is more likely in diverse groups where many assumptions are not held in common. Different populations can offer valuable and unique perspectives, both within and across communities. Thus, one goal is to provide students (and faculty members) with opportunities to move beyond their taken-for-granted or "commonsense" perspectives by exposing them to the experiences and ideas of others.

The belief that knowledge or understanding flourishes best in a climate of vigorous debate dates back to the Socratic tradition, but it is also a part of current multicultural and post-modern perspectivism.

Recent research provides empirical support for the value of diversity in the academic and social development of college students. A good summary of this literature can be found in Patricia Gurin's (1999) expert report for the University of Michigan in response to lawsuits deriving from college and law school admissions practices (see also Milem & Hakuta, 2000). Gurin suggests that democracy in the United States has been characterized by homogeneity and common identity, where people of common backgrounds and beliefs come together, rather than by diversity, where heterogeneity of backgrounds, perspectives, and identities predominates. In the latter type of democracy, groups need to forge alliances that respect competing perspectives. Gurin argues that today, leaders need skills that allow them to work effectively in heterogeneous environments. These skills include perspective-taking, acceptance of differences, a willingness and capacity to find commonalities among differences, acceptance of conflict as normal, conflict resolution, participation in democracy, and interest in the wider social world. Students typically come to college without many of those skills. Whether they acquire them in college depends on the opportunities they have to address issues and build skills in heterogeneous groups.

Gurin (1999) focuses on three types of diversity: *structural diversity,* or the extent to which a campus has a diverse student body; *classroom diversity,* or the extent to which classes address knowledge about diverse groups and issues of diversity as part of the curriculum; and *informal interactional diversity,* or the extent to which the campus provides opportunities for informal interaction across diverse groups. Gurin found that structural diversity makes issues of diversity salient and increases students' participation in diversity workshops, their likelihood of discussing racial and ethnic issues, their socializing across race, and their having close college friends from other racial backgrounds. Drawing from contact theory (e.g., Allport, 1954), she found that structural diversity was necessary but not sufficient to produce benefits. That is, the overall differences in level of intergroup contact occurred because in many instances, the diverse student body was coupled with classroom and informal interaction to produce the benefits. Gurin's analysis of the literature on learning outcomes found that classroom and informal diversity interactions increased active thinking, academic engagement, motivation, and academic and intellectual skills. The results were particularly strong for white students. Paralleling the academic gains were greater involvement in citizenship activities, greater appreciation for differences as compatible with societal unity, and greater cross-racial interaction. Follow-up studies found that the effects lasted as long as nine years after the students entered college.

Gurin makes a compelling case for the value of diversity in preparing individuals to succeed in the midst of current global realities. To prepare leaders and effective citizens, universities ought to provide an environment where students can acquire these necessary skills, many of which are difficult to teach or learn without diversity. For that very reason, many universities have embraced creation of a diverse campus environment as a core value.

However, two key questions remain: First, to what extent have faculty and staff internalized the diversity values of their universities? And second, do the values go beyond structural diversity to classroom and informal interactional diversity? In other words, (1) do faculty members at the nation's universities embrace values tied to diversity, so they believe that diversity improves their campus environment and their classes, and (2) are they willing to change the content and structure of their classes to provide an environment where students can better prepare themselves better for a heterogeneous world? It is possible that campus diversity exerts its influences passively, but data from Gurin and others argues otherwise. It is more likely that benefits of diversity accrue primarily from teachers' efforts to use it to enrich their classes, from their taking advantage of serendipitous opportunities to capitalize on diversity, and from campus

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interactions that build upon diversity.

If faculty members agree with the values articulated here and structure their classes to benefit from existing diversity, then diversity in the student body is important and should improve the educational experiences of all students. Alternatively, if faculty members view diversity as either unimportant or irrelevant to teaching and learning, they are likely to ignore it in their classes, with the result that students probably will derive little (if any) benefit from diversity. If it is totally ignored, diversity may even have negative effects, with divergent views expressed in class leading to conflicts and intergroup antagonisms that are not addressed–let alone resolved.

If faculty members view diversity as either unimportant or irrelevant to teaching and learning, they likely will ignore it in their classes, with the result that students will be likely to derive little (if any) benefit from diversity.

Recent data collected by the Higher Education Research Institute (HERI) at UCLA support the view that faculty believe diversity is important but that some feel that underprepared students are admitted in the name of diversity (see, e.g., Milem & Hakuta, 2000). The survey of 55,000 faculty respondents found that more than 90 percent of faculty agreed that "a racially/ethnically diverse student body enhances the educational experience of all students." Almost 60 percent thought that undergraduate education should "enhance students' knowledge of and appreciation for other ethnic/ racial groups." At the same time, however, almost 30 percent agreed that "promoting diversity leads to the admission of too many underprepared students."

This paper presents results of a faculty survey on diversity issues. The survey was sent to a representative national sample of college and university faculty in the social sciences, humanities, education, and business at Carnegie Research-I institutions. Faculty were asked in depth about their views on diversity, because it was presumed that class content and class discussions in such fields would include substantive issues related to diversity and that faculty in such fields would be more likely that other faculty members to view diversity topics as pertinent to course content. Research-I institutions were selected because they tend to be among the most selective in student admissions and because elimination of race as a factor in admissions is most likely to affect the diversity of their student bodies (e.g., Bowen & Bok, 1998).[1]

In examining whether faculty members believe that racial and ethnic diversity in the classroom improves the educational environment and enhances student and faculty learning, this study addresses the following specific research questions:

1. Do faculty members believe that their institution values racial and ethnic diversity?
2. If they agree that their institution values diversity, does that value permeate down to the departments and individual faculty members?
3. What do faculty members believe the benefits and costs of diversity are?
4. Do they believe that diversity has lowered the quality of the institution?

5. Who do faculty members believe benefits from diversity?

6. Do faculty members' beliefs about the value of diversity affect their classroom behavior?

The analyses also examine how individual faculty members' differences in background and experiences are reflected in their responses.

SURVEY RESULTS ADDRESSING THE SIX RESEARCH QUESTIONS

• Faculty members believe that their institutions value racial and ethnic diversity.

There is substantial agreement among respondents that diversity is valued at their institutions (Table I.1). For each question, respondents supported diversity, with more than half of the sample indicating "strongly agree/extremely important" or the next highest response option (viz., 5 or 4 on the 1 to 5 scale); fewer than 13 percent indicated "strongly disagree/not important" or the next lowest response (viz., 1 or 2).[4] Survey respondents were less positive about the educational importance of having diverse teaching assistants for their own courses, with only 37.9 percent of respondents indicating "4" or "5" and a mean response of 2.95.

• Faculty members say that although their departments value diversity less strongly than their institutions as a whole, their departments are as committed to improving the environment for all students as their institutions.

Table I.1
Institutional Values about Diversity

Institutional Value	N	Mean	Percent "1" or "2"	Percent "4" or "5"
Diverse campus environment is a high priority.	533	3.68	12.8	58.7
Committed to enhancing climate for all students.	541	3.86	13.1	69.8
Extracurricular activities that promote cultural awareness.	507	3.94	9.7	75.2
Importance of having a diverse student body.	543	3.88	9.9	68.9
Importance of faculty diversity.	543	3.73	12.2	62.2

All responses are on a scale of 1 to 5. For the first three items, the anchors are 1, "Strongly disagree," and 5, "Strongly agree," while for the final two items, the anchors are 1, "Not important/irrelevant," and 5, "Extremely important."

Table I.2
Departmental Values about Diversity

Departmental Value	N	Mean	Percent "1" or "2"	Percent "4" or "5"
Diverse campus environment is a high priority.	533	3.31	27.2	47.5
Committed to enhancing climate for all students.	544	3.87	13.1	69.3

All responses are on a scale of 1 to 5. The anchors are 1, "Strongly disagree," and 5, "Strongly agree."

Although faculty members in general agree that creating a diverse campus community is articulated as an institutional value, results at the departmental and individual faculty level might vary more from department to department, depending in part on the relative presence or absence of students of color. Prior research is consistent with such a view. For example, Mingle (1978) found that faculty perceptions of the impact of increased African-American enrollment tended to be more localized. That is, faculty members were more

Table I.3

Effects of Diversity on Classrooms

Effects on Classrooms	N	Mean	Percent "1" or "2"	Percent "4" or "5"
Raises new issues and perspectives.	521	2.73	43.8	30.4
Broadens variety of experiences shared.	504	3.77	25.2	51.4
Confronts stereotypes on social and political issues.	408	3.09	29.4	43.4
Confronts stereotypes on racial and ethnic issues.	408	3.13	29.2	45.1
Confronts stereotypes on substantive issues.	412	2.92	36.2	35.7
Confronts stereotypes tied to personal experiences.	397	3.13	28.5	44.9
Interactions expose students to different perspectives.	461	3.01	33.6	36.4
Allows broader variety of experiences to be shared.	478	3.45	20.5	54.1
Raises new issues and perspectives (specific to a particular diverse class).	476	3.01	34.9	40.3

All responses were on a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 being "Never" and 5, "All the time." "Percent" is percentage of respondents who answered with a response of 1 to 5, not of the total sample. The first two items ask about all classes, the next four about diverse as compared to homogeneous classes, and the final three about the class that has the most student interaction.

aware of the impact of African-American enrollment within their departments than on the institution as a whole. Our data reinforce this conclusion. As Table I.2 shows, faculty members say that their departments' values about the importance of a diverse campus environment are held less strongly than institutional values. To the extent that a department has few if any students of color, it should be difficult for faculty to agree that diversity is a high priority. At the same time, as long as they attend to the needs of the few students of color, they can say that their departments are strongly committed to enhancing the climate for all students.

• The vast majority of faculty members indicate that neither the quality of students nor the intellectual substance of class discussion suffers from diversity, and from one-third to one-half of faculty members cited positive benefits of diversity in the classroom.

Table I.3 provides information about the classroom effects of diversity. (The sample sizes differ across items because the referents vary.) Although responses varied appreciably, as Table I.3 shows, a substantial number of respondents agreed that classroom diversity broadened the range of perspectives shared in classes, exposed students to different perspectives, and encouraged students to confront a range of stereotypes, including racial, ethnic, social, political, and personal experience. The most affirmative responses were to questions about broadening perspectives shared, while the least agreement was found in response to questions about raising new issues and confronting substantive stereotypes. Only about one-third of respondents agreed that racial and ethnic diversity increased confrontation of substantive issues—a level of agreement much lower than for the other issues. Finally, comparison of the first and last items in Table I.3 shows that, by a small margin, faculty believed that the more diverse the class, the more frequently students raised new issues and perspectives.

Two additional items asked faculty members to compare the amount of substantive discussion of race and ethnicity in their most and least diverse classes and the likelihood of students incorporating relevant

racial and ethnic issues in their assignments. Responses were similar to those that appear in Table I.3, with means of 2.79 and 2.97, respectively, and with 35.0 percent and 38.5 percent, respectively, of respondents selecting categories "4" or "5."[3]

Table I.4 shows data on possible negative effects of increasing diversity on campus. Evidence is largely anecdotal, but various authors over the past decade have asserted that the quality of institutions has been diluted by racial and ethnic diversity and that academic communities have created a "zone of silence" in which discussions are suppressed by a climate of "political correctness" (e.g., Wilson, 1995). As Table I.4 shows, faculty members indicated little agreement with any of the statements. Even the item that generated the most agreement–that having to do with the quality of the student body–gained concurrence from less than 10 percent of faculty respondents. Clearly, faculty members do not believe that diversity impedes substantive discussions, creates tension and arguments, or compromises institutional quality.

• Faculty members believe that diversity helps all students achieve the essential goals of a college education and that white students suffer no adverse effects from classroom diversity.

As Table I.5 indicates, more than two-thirds of faculty respondents inidcated that students benefit from learning in a racially and ethnically diverse environment, both with respect to exposure to new perspectives and in terms of willingness to examine their own personal perspec-

Table I.4
Negative Effects of Diversity

Negative Effects	N	Mean	Percent "1" or "2"	Percent "4" or "5"
Has lowered the quality of the institution.	534	1.70	84.7	6.0
Has lowered the quality of the students.	530	1.81	81.7	8.9
Impedes discussion of substantive issues.	517	1.40	90.9	2.3
Creates tension and arguments.	519	1.59	85.4	2.3

All responses are on a scale of 1 to 5. For the first two items, 1 was "Strongly disagree" and 5, "Strongly agree," while for the last two items, 1 was "Never" and 5, "All the time." "Percent" is percentage of respondents who answered with a response of 1 to 5, not of the total sample.

Table I.5
General Campus-wide Student Benefits

Student Benefits	N	Mean	Percent "1" or "2"	Percent "4" or "5"
General importance for all students of intergroup interactions:				
Important for developing critical thinking.	491	3.03	38.5	42.2
Important for developing student leadership.	455	3.27	29.0	46.8
Important for developing willingness to examine own perspectives.	483	3.83	16.8	69.8
Important for exposing students to new perspectives.	494	3.84	16.4	70.7
Effects of diversity on white students:				
On the issues they consider.	423	3.67	3.1	57.9
On the issues they research in class.	408	3.41	2.5	37.2
On how they collaborate on group projects.	372	3.48	4.3	43.5
On how they read course materials.	410	3.50	2.0	42.9

All items are on a scale of 1 to 5. For the first four items, 1 was "Strongly disagree" and 5, "Strongly agree," while for the last four items, 1 was "Very negatively" and 5, "Very positively." "Percent" is percentage of respondents who answered with a response of 1 to 5, not of the total sample.

Table I.6

Effects of Diversity on Research

Effects on Research	N	Mean	Percent "1" or "2"	Percent "4" or "5"
Diverse classes affect research.	469	1.88	73.8	15.2
Diverse faculty affect research.	465	1.74	77.6	10.8
Diverse research team increases my own learning.	362	3.24	29.3	51.9
Views affected by class diversity.	499	3.79	3.8	58.7
Diversity leads students to work on different research topics.	364	2.93	41.5	40.1

Responses to the first two items range from 1, "Not at all" to 5, "Extensively"; for the third and fifth items, responses range from 1, "Strongly disagree" to 5, "Strongly agree" and for the fourth item, responses range from 1, "Very negatively" to 5, "Very positively." "Percent" is percentage of respondents who answered with a response of 1 to 5, not of the total sample.

tives. Substantial numbers of faculty members also said that diversity provides interactions important for developing critical thinking and leadership skills. One way to think about examining perspectives, building leadership skills, and developing critical thinking abilities is to view them as reflecting learning outcomes–the very goals of higher education and, more specifically, of liberal arts education. So it is fair to conclude that faculty respondents believe diversity helps achieve many of the key objectives of a college education.

The remaining four items in Table I.5 focus on the effects of diversity on white students. For the most part, faculty members believe that diversity reshapes the issues white students consider, how they read class material, what they choose to do research and class projects on, and how they collaborate in class. What Table I.5 also shows that fewer than 5 percent of faculty respondents indicated that racial and ethnic diversity in classes adversely affects white students.

• Faculty members report that diversity in classes and research teams affects their views and increases their learning.

Table I.6 summarizes faculty members' attitudes toward the effects of student and faculty diversity on the research that they and their students conduct. More than half of the faculty respondents agreed that their views about diversity were affected by having diverse classrooms and that diversity in research teams increased their learning. A substantial proportion of faculty members also agreed that students in diverse classes choose different topics for research. However, only a small proportion of respondents said that diverse classes affected their own research, and only about one in ten agreed that diversity among the faculty affected their research.

• Faculty members report that student and faculty diversity has not led them to make many changes in their classroom practices.

As Table I.7 shows, faculty respondents said that they did not change their classroom practices much in response to student diversity, and they changed them even less in response to faculty diversity. A little more than one-third of faculty members said that a more racially and ethnically diverse class leads students to raise issues related to diversity, and slightly less than one-third said that the presence of diverse students led them to adjust their course syllabus. Approximately one-quarter agreed that they changed their teaching methods to encourage discussion in their classes, and about one in five

reported developing new courses. Finally, 18 percent reported that they reexamined the criteria they used to evaluate students. Faculty diversity is less likely than student diversity to affect faculty behaviors. The percentage of faculty respondents that agreed with the statements about faculty diversity ranged from 26 percent for "raising issues in class" to 11 percent for "reexamining criteria for evaluating students."

Compared to some other findings, the impact of student diversity on faculty respondents' teaching was modest. Nevertheless, the responses may well be viewed as positive insofar as they suggest that faculty members do not lower their standards or change their grading patterns in the face of a more diverse student population. These findings do not differ much from those reported by Mingle (1978) in his study of the impact of African-American enrollment at 12 colleges and universities in the early 1970s. Mingle reported that seven out of ten faculty members felt that "Black minority issues, pressures, or considerations had altered their role as faculty members ... 'very little'" (p. 270). Only one in four faculty members reported that "black content" in courses and class discussions of racial issues had increased. Eight and nine in ten faculty members reported that their evaluation of student effort and class participation "remained the same," respectively.

At the same time, one-fifth of faculty respondents in the present study report developing new courses. In general, university curricula are stable, despite continuous changes in content as new findings become available. However, one-fifth of faculty developing new courses constitutes substantial if not "massive" change for universities.

Table I.7

Effects of Diversity on Teaching

Effects on Teaching	N	Mean	Percent "1" or "2"	Percent "4" or "5"
Over the years, the presence of racially/ethnically diverse students in your classrooms has been a factor in prompting you to:				
Raise racial/ethnic issues in your classes.	474	2.83	45.8	38.4
Adjust a course syllabus to include racial/ethnic issues.	463	2.46	58.3	28.7
Develop new course offerings.	443	2.15	71.1	18.5
Reexamine criteria for evaluation of students.	468	2.13	68.8	18.4
Change pedagogy to encourage discussion among students.	456	2.52	53.3	26.7
Over the years, the presence of racially/ethnically diverse faculty at your current institution has been a factor in prompting you to:				
Raise racial/ethnic issues in your classes.	443	2.46	59.4	26.2
Adjust a course syllabus to include racial/ethnic issues.	439	2.29	64.7	21.0
Develop new course offerings.	426	2.11	71.4	16.5
Reexamine criteria for evaluation of students.	447	1.98	74.5	11.4
Change pedagogy to encourage discussion among students.	437	2.23	66.1	17.4

All responses are on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 was "Strongly disagree" and 5, "Strongly agree."

• Faculty report being well-prepared to teach and comfortable in teaching diverse classes, yet only about one-third of them actually raise issues of diversity and create diverse work groups.

Table I.8 provides information about how prepared for and comfortable with diversity faculty members feel and to what extent they initiate discussions of race and have students work in diverse groups. Faculty

Table I.8

Readiness for Diverse Environment

Readiness	N	Mean	Percent "1" or "2"	Percent "4" or "5"
Prepared to teach/work.	547	3.99	8.8	71.1
Comfortable teaching/working.	545	4.39	1.8	86.2
Initiate discussion of race in classes.	543	2.82	42.4	36.4
Students work in diverse groups.	513	2.73	44.6	33.5

Responses for the first two items range from 1, "Not prepared (Not comfortable)," to 5, "Very prepared (Very comfortable)," and for the last two items from 1, "Never," to 5, "Very often."

members reported feeling prepared for and very comfortable in teaching and working in a racially and ethnically diverse environment. This may account for their responses to the questions summarized in Table I.7: If faculty members feel that they address diversity and are comfortable doing so, they are likely to feel little need to change. At the same time, because one-fifth of faculty report already developing new courses, much preparation may already have occurred. Approximately one-third of faculty respondents said they initiate discussions of race and assign students to diverse groups.

HOW BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS ARE RELATED TO THEIR ATTITUDES TOWARD DIVERSITY

These analyses looked at the relationships of a range of background characteristics to faculty attitudes toward diversity. Rather than presenting results for each measure, summary scores were constructed for items from Tables 1 to 8. (A detailed description of the analyses used to generate summary scores appears in Appendix I.B, and a detailed description of the analyses relating background characteristics to faculty attitudes appears in Appendix I.C.)

The only consistent pattern that emerged for variables which *a priori* were not predicted to be related to diversity is that more senior faculty members (in terms of years of experience and rank) were found to be somewhat less positive about the value of diversity and less likely to address issues of diversity.[4] For individual characteristics (such as racial background, gender, and political views) and individual difference variables tied to experiences, the expectation was that experience would change faculty responses and/or that faculty members with different values and backgrounds would seek different settings. If so, individual characteristics would be expected to be related to attitudes toward diversity issues.[5]

As Table I.9 shows, faculty of color view the climate for diversity as less positive; see the benefits of diversity on classrooms, students, teaching, and research as more positive; feel better prepared to deal with diversity; and say they are more likely to address issues of diversity.

Gender difference results were similar to ethnic and racial background results. As Table I.10 (page 20) shows, women faculty members rated the institutional climate less favorably; saw fewer negative effects of diversity; indicated a more positive attitude about the effects of diversity on classrooms, students, and research; and addressed issues of diversity more often in their classes.

Respondents tended to hold liberal political views. Ten percent described themselves as far left, 53 percent as liberal, 30 percent as moderate, 7 percent as conservative, and less than 1 percent as far right. Political views were consistently related to the factor scores. More liberal faculty saw less positive institutional values; identified fewer negative effects of diversity; gave greater importance to diversity; were more positive in their views about the effects of diversity on classes, teaching, and students; and reported addressing diversity more often in their teaching.[6]

Faculty experiences with diversity at their institutions were assessed through questions such as the largest percentage of students of color in a class they had ever taught. Responses tended to be related positively with institutional values about diversity, importance of having a diverse population, departmental values about diversity, positive effects on classrooms, effects on research and teaching, and preparation for and addressing issues of diversity in one's teaching. (See Appendix I.C for more detailed analysis.)

In addition to questions about experience in teaching in a diverse environment, the survey asked faculty members what proportion of students of color, in their opinion,

Table I.9

Responses of White and Non-white Faculty

Factor	Group	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error	t-value (significance)
Institutional values about diversity	white	415	3.86	0.80	0.04	2.41
	non-white	71	3.61	0.91	0.11	(p <.05)
Importance of diverse population	white	464	3.78	1.00	0.05	n.s.
	non-white	78	3.96	1.08	0.12	
Departmental values about diversity	white	451	3.61	0.99	0.05	n.s.
	non-white	77	3.47	0.97	0.11	
Effects of diversity on classrooms	white	289	3.18	0.98	0.06	-2.52
	non-white	57	3.54	1.01	0.13	(p <.05)
Negative effects of diversity	white	447	1.76	0.93	0.04	n.s.
	non-white	75	1.61	0.95	0.11	
Diversity benefits for all students	white	362	3.46	1.15	0.06	-3.52
	non-white	71	3.98	1.07	0.13	(p<.01)
Diversity benefits for white students	white	289	3.43	0.54	0.03	-3.34
	non-white	58	3.72	0.81	0.11	(p<.01)
Effects of diversity on research	white	218	2.73	0.84	0.06	-3.11
	non-white	44	3.17	0.95	0.14	(p<.01)
Impacts of diversity on teaching	white	314	2.23	0.97	0.05	n.s.
	non-white	54	2.45	1.11	0.15	
Prepared to teach in diverse class	white	467	4.11	0.84	0.04	-5.43
	non-white	78	4.69	0.52	0.06	(p<.01)
Address diversity in teaching	white	435	2.67	1.25	0.06	-4.11
	non-white	77	3.32	1.39	0.16	(p<.01)

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Table I.10

Comparison of Male and Female Responses

Factor	Gender	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	Standard Error	t-value (significance)
Institutional values about diversity	Male	300	3.89	0.77	0.04	2.28
	Female	183	3.72	0.88	0.07	(p<.05)
Importance of diverse population	Male	340	3.79	1.00	0.05	n.s.
	Female	200	3.84	1.05	0.07	
Departmental values about diversity	Male	332	3.63	0.91	0.05	n.s.
	Female	192	3.52	1.11	0.08	
Effects of diversity on classrooms	Male	208	3.05	1.03	0.07	-4.41
	Female	137	3.52	0.88	0.07	(p<.01)
Negative effects of diversity	Male	323	1.88	0.97	0.05	4.73
	Female	196	1.50	0.77	0.05	(p<.01)
Diversity benefits for all students	Male	259	3.36	1.18	0.07	-4.21
	Female	172	3.83	1.05	0.08	(p<.01)
Diversity benefits for white students	Male	217	3.37	0.55	0.04	-4.26
	Female	130	3.65	0.65	0.06	(p<.01)
Effects of diversity on research	Male	163	2.72	0.85	0.07	-2.30
	Female	98	2.97	0.89	0.09	(p<.05)
Impacts of diversity on teaching	Male	239	2.19	0.94	0.06	n.s.
	Female	128	2.38	1.07	0.09	
Prepared to teach in diverse class	Male	342	4.18	0.84	0.05	n.s.
	Female	200	4.21	0.79	0.06	
Address diversity in teaching	Male	323	2.49	1.22	0.07	-6.68
	Female	186	3.25	1.27	0.09	(p<.01)

would constitute a diverse class. Thirty percent of respondents chose the 16 percent to 25 percent category, while another 30 percent selected larger proportions and 40 percent chose a smaller percentage. The larger the proportion of students of color believed to define a diverse class, the more positive the attitudes toward diversity effects on classrooms, diversity benefits for all students, diversity effects on teaching, and reported preparedness to address issues of diversity.

Responses to questions about faculty participation in diversity-related activities ranged from "no participation in last 5 years" to "attended workshop or similar," "taught or similar on gender issues,"[7] and "taught or similar on race/ethnicity issues."[8]

Analyses of faculty attitudes comparing the involvement of faculty members with different levels of experience in diversity-related activities found differences between groups on most dimensions. The only dimensions where significant differences were not found were importance of a diverse population and departmental values about diversity. Faculty members more involved in diversity issues viewed institutional values as less positive (although still positive); saw fewer negative effects of diversity; perceived effects of diversity on classes, students (all and white), research,

and teaching as more positive; felt more prepared to teach in diverse classes; and reported addressing racial and ethnic issues more.

The analyses reported in this section (and in Appendix I.C) cover a range of background and experience variables, most of which show patterns of findings consistent with expectations. In sum, women faculty members, more liberal faculty members, and faculty members of color have more positive views of diversity, while full professors and faculty members with more years of teaching experience are less likely to address issues of diversity in their teaching. Faculty members more favorably disposed toward diversity issues tend to see their institutions as valuing diversity less strongly. Faculty members who have taught more diverse classes are more positively disposed toward issues of diversity, as are faculty members who have had more experience with issues of diversity.

HOW CLASS STRUCTURE IS RELATED TO ATTITUDES TOWARD DIVERSITY

According to both contact theory (e.g., Allport, 1954) and the predictions of Gurin (1999) based on the importance of classroom and informal interaction, classes that involve more student interaction should produce more benefits of diversity. If Allport's and Gurin's views are correct, lecture-centered or other teacher-centered methods offer much less opportunity for the benefits of diversity to be realized. We would expect faculty members using these techniques to hold less favorable views about diversity. Such views could exist for many reasons (some more likely than others). For example, if individual faculty members believe that classroom interactions are not central to learning, they likely would not be proponents of diversity because they do not see its value generally, let alone with respect to ethnic and racial diversity. If individual faculty members do not give themselves an opportunity to see the benefits of student interactions because of their need to "control" the classroom environment, they may not give themselves the opportunity to see benefits of student diversity. Or, if they simply feel uncomfortable in such a setting, they may simply avoid it altogether.

According to the survey, there is substantial variability in how faculty respondents structure their classes. Faculty members reported spending about half of their time on lecture, one-third on student-centered or teacher-student shared whole class activities, one-fifth on small group activities, one-tenth on individual student work, and one-fifth more on other activities.[9] Faculty members who reported spending more time lecturing reported more negative effects of diversity and were less positive in their views about the benefits of diversity on classrooms, students (all students and white students alike), research, and teaching. Faculty members who spent more class time on activities in which teachers and students shared respon-

sibility and student-centered, whole class activities saw fewer negative effects of diversity and responded more favorably regarding positive effects of diversity on classes, students (all and white), and research. Their ratings of teaching also were somewhat more positive.

Beliefs about ethnic and racial diversity are related to more general beliefs about the importance of colleges being places where diverse perspectives are brought together.

VIEWS ABOUT ETHNIC AND RACIAL DIVERSITY AND OTHER TYPES OF DIVERSITY

Finally, faculty members were asked how important they thought various types of diversity were "in contributing to the quality of learning in your classrooms." The types of diversity included gender, U.S. races and ethnicities, international, work experiences, age, academic majors, career goals, religion, socio-economic status, and region of the country. On a scale of 1 ("not important") to 5 ("very important"), average responses were 3.54 for diverse work experiences, 2.58 for religious diversity, 3.36 for ethnic and racial diversity, and 3.29 for gender diversity. Analyses of the relationship of ethnic and racial diversity to other types of diversity found faculty views about ethnic and racial diversity strongly tied to views about other types of diversity. That is, beliefs about ethnic and racial diversity are related to more general beliefs about the importance of colleges being places where diverse perspectives are brought together (see Appendix I.D).

USING FACULTY MEMBER BACKGROUNDS TO PREDICT ATTITUDES TOWARD DIVERSITY

Even though the analyses reported above show that a number of background characteristics are related to faculty members' attitudes toward diversity, they do not address the question of which relationships seem most important or of whether different analyses simply report the same findings for different variables. The 12 background variables that were related most consistently to the attitude measures were looked at simultaneously. These background variables were strongly related to the extent to which faculty address issues of diversity in their teaching, to the effects of diversity on classes, and to positive effects of diversity, but less strongly to institutional and departmental values about diversity, to negative effects of diversity, and to perceived importance of diverse populations (see Appendix I.E for details).

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

Overall, the survey results support the view that faculty members at Research-I universities value diversity and that many faculty members adjust their classes to take advantage of diversity to enhance the learning process.[10] Substantial numbers of faculty members seem to be making use of student diversity to enrich their

classes; campus diversity is seen widely as desirable and as beneficial to all students and teachers; and virtually no faculty members believed that diversity had negative effects on their institutions or classes. That faculty respondents said that white students benefit from diversity is a particularly interesting and important finding.

It is notable that even when a number of background characteristics of faculty members are used as predictors, only about 10 percent of the variance in faculty perceptions about diversity as an institutional value is explained. This suggests that the general acknowledgment of institutional values about diversity is not strongly tied either to political attitudes or to faculty demographics. At the same time, the modestly higher ratings from faculty of color and women suggest that as the academy becomes more diverse, support for diversity will grow.

Finally, although faculty respondents viewed ethnic and racial diversity as relatively important (based on the mean response) compared to other types of diversity, they did not greatly differentiate ethnic and racial diversity from the other types (based on its correlation with other types of diversity). These results suggest that faculty members believe that a number of types of diversity are important and that their views about ethnic and racial diversity reflect a broader commitment to creating a diverse campus environment. In such an environment, students are challenged to reflect upon their beliefs; to interact with others holding diverse perspectives, understandings, and expectations; and to work effectively with dissimilar others (e.g., Gurin, 1999). Insofar as research evidence argues for the benefits of diversity to student development, universities will want to make those benefits available to their students. Thus, a major challenge for institutions that believe that attracting students who hold diverse perspectives enriches their communities is to determine how to articulate their admissions criteria so they can admit students who will contribute to the growth of their institutions, students, and communities.

Insofar as research evidence argues for the benefits of diversity to student development, universities will want to make those benefits available to their students.

APPENDIX I.A Methods

National Sample of Faculty

The study sample consisted of 1,500 randomly selected full-time faculty in five areas–education, humanities, social sciences, business, and interdisciplinary programs–at Carnegie Classified Research-I institutions. The sample was drawn from a database of CMG Direct Corporation, a national vendor of mailing lists used by many academic surveys. The database contains complete contact information on approximately 600,000 college and university faculty members. Once the sample of 1,500 was drawn, the list was reviewed to ensure that only faculty in the five predetermined academic areas were included. The final sample included 140 business faculty members, 119 education faculty members, 228 humanities faculty members, 635 interdisciplinary faculty members, and 378 social science faculty members, for a total sample of 1,500 full-time faculty members.[11]

Research-I universities were targeted for three primary reasons: (1) over the past five years, legal and policy challenges to affirmative action in admissions have focused on Research-I institutions (University of California, University of Florida, University of Michigan, University of Texas, and the University of Washington); (2) Research-I institutions tend to be among the most selective institutions in terms of student admissions and, as a result, are more likely to be affected by the abolition of affirmative action; and (3) faculty at these institutions are responsible for both teaching and research and tend as a group to have experienced similar training during their graduate programs.

The Faculty Classroom Diversity Questionnaire, developed by a team of researchers under the leadership of the American Council on Education and the American Association of University Professors, was used to collect data. The draft questionnaire was reviewed and subjected to focus group and conventional pretesting by survey research methodologists at the University of Maryland's Survey Research Center. In accordance with recommendations from the Survey Research Center, the questionnaire was pretested with 135 faculty members at a midwestern liberal arts college. Final revisions were then made.

The first mailing included the instrument and a letter describing the purpose and intended use of the survey. Confidentiality of participants would be guaranteed, and a summary of the results was offered to interested participants upon request. Participants received the first mailing at the beginning of the spring 1999 semester. Two weeks after the packet was sent, postcards were mailed to remind participants to complete and return the survey. A final mailing, about four weeks after the first, consisted of another reminder as well as a second copy of the survey. Postage-paid return envelopes were included in each survey mailing. The mailing response rate was 30 percent, with 369 surveys completed and returned.

In order to increase the response rate, telephone follow-ups for non-respondents were conducted by trained interviewers at the Office of Survey Research at the University of Texas, Austin, beginning in April 1999. Telephone follow-ups resulted in the completion of 203 telephone surveys. As a result of the mailing and telephone follow-ups, 290 faculty members were deemed ineligible because of incorrect information (they were retired, not employed full time, etc.). Thus, our final sample size was 1,210 faculty members. Taking into account the mailing and telephone follow-ups, our final survey response rate was 47 percent.

Demographics of the sample

Eighty-five percent of respondents were white, and 94 percent worked full time. With respect to race/ethnicity, the remaining faculty included 26 (5 percent) African Americans, 19 (4 percent) Latinos, 31 (6 percent) Asian Americans, and three (less than 1 percent) American Indians, with 25 (5 percent) not responding or self-identifying as "other." (Because of the relatively small numbers of respondents from individual ethnic and racial groups, all analyses of such differences compare only white faculty members' responses with the aggregate responses of faculty of color.) Twenty percent of respondents were born abroad, 17

percent received baccalaureate degrees from outside the United States, and 2 percent received their graduate degrees from institutions outside this country. With respect to gender, 346 (63 percent) were male, and 205 (37 percent) were female; four respondents did not indicate their gender. With respect to current titles, respondents included 228 (42 percent) professors, 159 (29 percent) associate professors, 91 (17 percent) assistant professors, 52 (10 percent) lecturers/instructors, and 18 (3 percent) individuals with other titles. Of the respondents, 365 (66 percent) described their primary job as teaching, while 99 (19 percent) viewed themselves primarily as researchers and 53 (10 percent) primarily as administrators. Finally, with respect to political orientation, 51 (10 percent) described themselves as "far left," 280 (53 percent) as "liberal," 158 (30 percent) as "moderate," 37 (7 percent) as "conservative," and one as "far right"; 28 respondents did not provide information about their political beliefs.

Analyses

For all items, responses ranged from 1 to 5, with anchor labels on 1 (e.g., Lowest priority, Strongly disagree, or Never) and 5 (e.g., Highest priority, Strongly agree, or All the time). Respondents could also indicate "Don't know" or "Not applicable." For the text tables, these latter responses are excluded from both the counts and the percentage of respondents agreeing or disagreeing. In addition, some items solicit responses only from faculty who do certain things as part of their jobs (e.g., research), so sample sizes vary across questions. Results in the text are organized so as to be consistent with the research questions to be addressed.

APPENDIX I.B Analyses Reducing the Number of Attitude Measures

Before we looked at relationships between faculty attitudes and demographic variables, we used principal factors factor analysis techniques to examine dimensionality of the data. The underlying purpose of these analyses was to reduce the number of dependent variables for analyses pertaining to the relation of demographic variables to the measures from Tables 1 through 8. The sets of questions in Tables 1 through 8 were factor analyzed separately to see if they were unidimensional. In most instances, the items defined a single dimension, but in others, two dimensions were found. Factor scores were created by taking unweighted averages of items defining each factor. Two items (9c and 10a) did not load appreciably with others and were left out of the factors. (A summary of the results appears in Table I.11.)

Before we looked at the relations of factors to demographic variables, we examined their interrelationships. Table I.12 provides a correlation matrix interrelating the different factors. The correlation matrix shows that six of the factor scores are strongly related. They are "Effects of diversity on classrooms," "Diversity benefits for all students," "Diversity benefits for white students," "Effects of diversity on research," "Impacts of diversity on teaching," and "Address diversity in teaching." "Negative effects of diversity" was found to be moderately negatively related to other factors, while "Importance of a diverse population" was moderately related to other factors. "Institutional values about diversity," "Departmental values about diversity," and "Prepared to teach in diverse classroom" were modestly and somewhat inconsistently related to other factors. Given the pattern of correlations, six strongly correlated factors would likely show consistent relations with other variables.

Table I.11

Descriptive and Technical Information about Factors

	N	Items	Range of factor loadings/eigenvalue	Factor Mean	Standard Deviation
Institutional values about diversity	486	4a, 5a, 6c	.54-.83 / (2.24, 1.61)	3.83	0.82
Importance of diverse population	542	50, 51	.97-.99 / (2.24, 1.61)	3.80	1.02
Departmental values about diversity	528	4b, 5b	0.73 / 1.53	3.59	0.99
Effects of diversity on classrooms	346	9a, 9b, 17a, 17b, 17c, 17d, 21a, 21b, 21c, 21d	.75-.87 / 6.05	3.23	1.00
Negative effects of diversity	522	7, 8 (9c, 10a)	.86-.95 / 1.92	1.74	0.93
Diversity benefits for all students	433	11a, 11b, 11c, 11d	.74-.90 / (4.38, 1.92)	3.55	1.15
Diversity benefits for white students	347	27a, 27b, 27c, 27d	.76-.79 / (4.38, 1.92)	3.48	0.60
Effects of diversity on research	262	22, 23, 24, 25, 26	.54-.81 / 2.78	2.81	0.87
Impacts of diversity on teaching	368	18a, 18b, 18c, 18d, 18e, 19a, 19b, 19c, 19d, 19e	.60-.89 / 6.45	2.26	0.99
Prepared to teach in diverse class	545	48, 49	.83 (1.96, 1.30)	4.19	0.82
Address diversity in teaching	512	52, 53	.74 (1.96, 1.30)	2.77	1.29

Note: In cases where two eigenvalues appear in parentheses, the items that were factor analyzed together yielded two factors. All eigenvalues are unrotated values. Factor scores are unweighted sums of the items listed.

Table I.12

Correlations of Factor Score Dimensions

Correlations of Factor Scores	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Institutional values about diversity	1										
2. Importance of diverse population	0.36	1									
3. Department values diversity	0.58	0.36	1								
4. Effects of diversity on classrooms	-0.14	0.34	0.12	1							
5. Negative effects of diversity	0.09	-0.20	-0.09	-0.36	1						
6. Diversity benefits for all students	-0.03	0.27	0.15	0.69	-0.26	1					
7. Diversity benefits for white students	-0.03	0.26	0.20	0.63	-0.29	0.46	1				
8. Effects of diversity on research	-0.13	0.26	0.10	0.69	-0.28	0.60	0.65	1			
9. Impacts of diversity on teaching	-0.12	0.27	0.10	0.62	-0.20	0.56	0.51	0.69	1		
10. Prepared to teach in diverse class	0.10	0.12	0.17	0.06	0.01	0.16	0.06	0.03	0.00	1	
11. Address diversity in teaching	-0.06	0.19	0.09	0.65	-0.25	0.46	0.50	0.48	0.49	0.20	1

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Initially, we looked at demographic and background variables that might be expected to be "irrelevant" to attitudes toward diversity–that is, those for which there were no strong predictions about relations to diversity attitudes and values. One way to establish the responses' validity was to show that the dimensions displayed anticipated patterns for relevant variables but no consistent patterns for other variables that would not be expected to be related to diversity. The variables examined were: average number of students in undergraduate classes, average number in graduate classes, whether the faculty are U.S. citizens, whether they were born in the United States, their primary duties (teaching versus research), their rank, their years of experience teaching, whether they were full-time employees, and their teaching load. For many of these variables, no relations with the factor scores were found. Exceptions were found for being a citizen (non-citizens thought their departments valued diversity more strongly), for teaching load (faculty with heavier teaching loads reported addressing diversity more in their classes and were less positive about their departments' values toward diversity), years of experience (faculty with more years of experience thought the climate was more favorable, were less positive about the effects of diversity on classes and research, saw more negative effects of diversity, and were less likely to address diversity issues in their classes), and rank (assistant professors perceived institutional and departmental commitment as being lower than others did, professors perceived lesser effects of diversity upon research and teaching than assistant professors, and professors addressed issues of diversity in their classes less than other faculty).

After looking at general variables, we turned to those which *a priori* could be expected to be related to the faculty perception variables. For the most part, those analyses appear in the text. One exception is findings related to the student diversity of institutions attended by faculty; although these are interesting, they are not integral to the central issues. To determine whether faculty members' experiences during their postsecondary school years and while employed at colleges and universities were related to their attitudes, the survey asked about the proportion of undergraduate and graduate students who were students of color at the institutions the faculty attended. Analyses were done as correlations, because the results were expected to be linearly related to the proportion of students of color. (No consistent non-linear patterns, which might suggest the presence of "critical mass" effects, were found.) Diversity of undergraduate institution was related to diversity of graduate institution attended ($r = .37$); faculty who had attended more diverse undergraduate institutions were more likely to have attended more diverse graduate institutions. Undergraduate diversity was modestly but significantly related to addressing diversity in one's teaching and to more positive effects of diversity on research, and it was related negatively to perceptions of departmental values on diversity. Diversity in graduate programs was related to feeling prepared to teach in a diverse class, but it was negatively related to importance of having a diverse population of students and faculty on campus.

Second, greater detail is provided here for variables that reflected faculty experiences with diversity at their institutions. These variables included the largest percentage of students of color in a class a faculty member had ever taught, the largest percentage of students of color in a class a faculty member had taught within the past five years, and the smallest percentage of students of color in a class a faculty member had taught within the past five years. The two questions about the largest percentage of students of color in a class correlated .85, so they were not considered independently. Responses to the largest percentage were correlated positively with institutional values about diversity, importance of having a diverse population, departmental values about diversity, positive effects on classrooms, effects on research and teaching, and preparation for and addressing issues of diversity in one's teaching. These correlations were fairly modest (ranging from .11 to .22), but still significant. The

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smallest proportion of minority students in a class was moderately correlated with largest proportion over the last five years and ever (for both, r = .55), but its relation to diversity measures was weaker. It was positively correlated with institutional and departmental values and to being prepared to teach in a diverse class. In part, the weaker relations likely were due to the fact that almost three-quarters (73 percent) of respondents selected the "5 percent or less" category.

Third, faculty members generally agreed that students of color were more likely to participate in class discussions if peers from the same ethnic or racial group were present (mean response, 3.13, with 46 percent of responses being "4" or "5"). (See "College Missions, Faculty Teaching, and Student Outcomes" in this volume for more on presence of similar peers in classes.) Responses to the question of whether a critical mass of students was necessary for participation were more variable, with a mean of 2.66 with (25.6 percent "4" or "5") in terms of classes generally and a mean of 2.76 (with 29.4 percent "4" or "5") in terms of the faculty member's class with the most student interaction. The three items correlated strongly with one another (ranging between .60 and .70), were related to all the factors in Table I.11, and were substantially related to the six factors that were inter-correlated–namely, effects of diversity on classrooms, students (all and white), teaching, research, and addressing diversity. Further, faculty members who felt that a critical mass was important had more negative views of their institutions' values, thought having a diverse population was more important, and perceived fewer negative effects of diversity.

APPENDIX I.D Relations of Attitudes about Ethnic/Racial Diversity to Attitudes toward Other Types of Diversity

The text summarizes analyses comparing attitudes about different types of diversity. Responses to questions about ten different types of diversity were factor analyzed using principal factors to see how many different dimensions emerged. In fact, 62 percent of the variance was accounted for by a general factor (eigenvalue, 6.16). A second factor met criteria for being kept and examined (eigenvalue, 1.01). Factor loadings on the first factor ranged from .69 to .85. Rotation of two factors did not produce a clean, simple structure; the lowest loading on either factor was .27. The two items that had the highest loadings on the second factor were academic majors and career goals. Ethnic/racial diversity had the strongest loading on the first factor (.88) and was strongly linked to gender, international, and socioeconomic diversity. In other words, as noted in the text, responses about ethnic and racial diversity were strongly related to responses about other types of diversity, suggesting that respondents viewed ethnic/racial diversity as an important component of broader diversity.

Table I.13

Regression Results for Factor Scores

Predictor	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	R SQ	N
Dependent Variable:														
Institutional values about diversity	**0.20**					-0.12	**0.16**				-0.13		0.11	291
Importance of diverse population													n.s.	308
Departmental values about diversity	**0.24**							**-0.15**					0.07	303
Effects of diversity on classrooms			**0.29**	-0.17	0.14						**0.35**	-0.11	0.41	226
Negative effects of diversity				0.14		**-0.27**							0.09	299
Diversity benefits for all students		0.11	**0.37**		**0.14**					0.16	**0.21**		0.30	272
Diversity benefits for white students			**0.17**		0.14						**0.29**		0.21	212
Effects of diversity on research		**0.19**	**0.25**								**0.37**		0.27	167
Impacts of diversity on teaching		0.14	**0.28**								**0.36**		0.28	229
Prepared to teach in diverse class	**0.24**									**0.28**	0.11		0.15	308
Address diversity in teaching			0.14	**-0.23**	0.15					0.12	**0.39**	-0.10	0.42	296

All coefficients are significant at 0.05. Bold coefficients are significant at the 0.01 level.

Predictor variables

1. Largest percentage of minority students
2. What percentage would constitute a diverse class
3. Critical mass is important
4. Time spent on lecture
5. Gender
6. Political views
7. Years teaching
8. Percentage of minorities at bachelor's alma mater
9. Percentage of minorities at graduate alma mater
10. White or not
11. Involvement with ethnic/racial issues
12. Full professor or not

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Multivariate analyses were used to examine relations of demographic and background variables simultaneously with the attitude measures. For these analyses, the best predictors from the previous analyses were brought together to determine which had the best predictive value and how much variability could be accounted for. Because many of the possible predictors seemed likely to be interrelated, it was important to pay attention to possible effects of interdependence among them, called collinearity. Initially, analyses examined interrelationships among the variables that previous analyses had found to be related to various factor scores. Those analyses found that collinearity was not a problem; none of the "variance inflation factors" exceeded 1.5 (see, e.g., Maruyama, 1998).

A summary of the regression analyses appears in Table I.13. The 12 predictor variables that were used for these analyses are listed at the bottom of the table.

Because many of the questions provided for responses only from subsets of respondents, the sample sizes varied. The amount of variability accounted for fluctuated markedly from measure to measure. The predictors accounted for more than 40 percent of the variance of the extent to which faculty members address issues of diversity in their teaching and the effects of diversity on classes but less than 10 percent of the variance in department values about diversity and negative effects of diversity; they accounted for a non-significant part of the variance in perceived importance of diverse populations.

The predictors accounted for only 11 percent of the variability in ratings of institutional values, though four predictors had significant effects. Faculty respondents who had taught more diverse classes and who had more years of experience rated their institutions as holding more positive values, while faculty respondents who were more liberal and who had more involvement with ethnic and racial issues rated their institutions' values less positively.

For the six faculty attitude factors that were moderately intercorrelated, the amount of variability accounted for ranged from 21 percent to 41 percent. Faculty members involved with ethnic and racial issues consistently rated the effects of diversity as stronger, as did faculty members who believed that classes benefited from having a "critical mass" of students of color. Less consistent patterns viewing diversity more favorably were found for women faculty members, non-white faculty members, and faculty members who thought relatively high proportions of students of color were required to constitute a diverse class. Negative predictors of attitudes were spending more time in lecture and being a full professor.

The regression analyses corroborate the array of demographic findings reported in the text, for the significant effects are not due to highly redundant predictors. The complex pattern of differences due to demographics and experiences cannot be reduced to a single set of strongly related background variables. The analyses point out some consistencies for particular predictors but do not account for much of the variability in some of the factor scores. For example, there is a consistent pattern of differences for faculty members involved with diversity issues on perceived benefits of diversity on classes, students, teaching, and research. Otherwise, however, there are no strong patterns of differences. For example, only about 10 percent of the variance in faculty perceptions about diversity as an institutional value is explained.

The results reported here demonstrate clearly that faculty respondents believe their institutions articulate having a diverse campus environment as an important institutional value. Approximately two-thirds of the respondents agreed that having a diverse campus environment is a high priority at their institutions, while somewhat fewer respondents said that their department viewed diversity as a high priority. There was also substantial agreement among respondents that diversity in classes changes the dynamics of classrooms and increases the extent to which they focus on issues of diversity. This finding was stronger for faculty members who had taught diverse classes and who were more involved in diversity issues. Faculty members responding to the survey saw virtually no negative impacts of diversity on their institutions, strongly disagreeing with the propositions that diversity lowered the quality of their institution or their students, that having diverse classes impeded discussion of substantive issues, and that diversity created tensions or arguments in the classroom. Faculty respondents generally felt that they were well-prepared for and comfortable in teaching diverse classes. Finally, faculty members believed that in diverse classes, students are able to develop useful academic skills, such as willingness to examine one's own perspective, exposure to a broader range of perspectives, leadership capacity, and critical thinking.

Respondents' attitudes toward classroom interactions were more mixed. Still, there was substantial agreement that a broader variety of experiences was shared in diverse classes, students were more likely to examine their own personal beliefs, and racial and ethnic stereotypes as well as personal stereotypes were more likely to be addressed. Faculty respondents overwhelmingly agreed that white students are positively affected in terms of the issues they consider, the way they read course material, and how they work together on course projects.

When faculty responses were analyzed by subgroups, a number of predicted patterns of results emerged. Responses of faculty members of color differed from those of white faculty members; responses of females differed from those of males; and the responses of liberal faculty members differed from those of their conservative colleagues. Faculty members who had attended more diverse institutions as students viewed diversity more favorably, as did faculty members with more experience teaching diverse classes and those with more experience addressing issues of diversity. Faculty members who viewed relatively large percentages of students of color as necessary to constitute a diverse class also responded more positively, as did faculty members who expressed the belief that classes need a "critical mass" of students of color. On the other hand, more experienced faculty members and those who spent more class time lecturing held less favorable views about diversity.

It is important to consider the combining of data from two different response formats. The initial sample of respondents replied by completing a survey, while later respondents were contacted by phone. Because the latter group had also received the survey, it seemed reasonable to assume that they differed from the initial respondent sample (after all, they did not respond to the survey); however, it was difficult to determine *a priori* what the "direction" of differences might be. In fact, phone respondents differed from survey respondents on a number of background characteristics. Consider the characteristics used for the regression analyses: Phone respondents reported having larger percentages of students of color in their classes, using more lecture in their teaching, being less involved in ethnic/racial issues, and having more diverse peers while in graduate school; were more likely to be male; defined diverse classes as having more students of color; and agreed less that having a "critical mass" of students of color was important for their participation in class. Comparison of the regression analyses (replicating them within the two different groups) revealed substantial similarity across the groups, particularly in terms of variability accounted for. Some instability across the sample should be expected given sampling variability of correlations (e.g., Maruyama, 1998); this would affect the significance of particular coefficients more than overall prediction. The general pattern was that the smaller sample (phone respondents) had fewer significant coefficients in the regressions (certainly not a surprising finding) and that the significant coefficients for the survey respondents tended to be those significant for the phone respondents plus others. In other words, even though analyses of the two subpopulations did not allow us conclude that the two groups were equivalent, the results for each group looked much like the overall results, supporting the conclusions drawn. Further, the magnitude of differences was fairly small and did not detract from the conclusions drawn from Tables 1 through 8.

Second, it is important to consider the present results in the context of prior research. Although strong, the results from this survey, seem less positive than those found by Orfield and Whitla (1999) in their study of law students and those found by the UCLA Higher Education Research Institute (see, e.g., Milem & Hakuta, 2000) in its study of faculty. Perhaps the survey and phone format, coupled with the focus on diversity issues, attracted a more polarized set of respondents than that which responded to broader surveys, or perhaps the singular focus on diversity issues led respondents to think more deeply about the issues, thereby eliciting a less socially desirable response. Of course, the preceding explanations are mere speculation; the reasons for differences from prior work remain unclear. Regardless, the data are consistent insofar as they support the view that faculty value institutional diversity.

Finally, given the richness of the data that were collected, many additional questions could be addressed, and additional analyses could yet be conducted. As further questions are raised, it will be important to reexamine this data set. At the same time, it is important to recognize that data in general and faculty perceptions in particular are only part of the issue. Increasingly, data that demonstrate positive educational impacts of campus diversity on students and society (e.g., Bowen & Bok, 1998; Milem & Hakuta, 2000) will become available. To the extent that institutions of higher education believe in the importance of attracting students who hold diverse perspectives, they need to determine how to weigh different factors as they articulate their admissions criteria.

ENDNOTES

[1] For a full discussion of the survey methodology and respondent characteristics, as well as more detailed statistical analysis, see Appendix I.A.

[2] Faculty responded using scales ranging from 1 to 5 for each question. Only the scale's end points were given verbal labels. For example, responses could range from "1" (strongly disagree) to "5" (strongly agree).

[3] To maintain consistency with previously reported results, these items were left out of Table I.3 and from a factor score made up of items from Table I.3.

[4] Because those differences may reflect other demographic differences in a changing academy, these two variables are discussed later, along with other predictors in a multivariate context.

[5] With respect to racial and ethnic background, because of the small numbers of faculty of color in the sample, we looked only at white versus non-white as a variable.

[6] Correlations ranged from .12 to .29.

[7] Although this variable is used in this analysis primarily as a categorical variable, the assumption underlying this ordering is that faculty involved in gender issues will develop a stronger understanding of other diversity issues as well. The differences between the responses of men and women faculty members are consistent with such an assumption.

[8] The categories described represent a collapsing of nine different categories into four clusters based upon the relationships among the nine categories.

[9] Fractions do not add to a whole number, or 100 percent, because faculty responses were not consistent with the instructions, which were to total to 100 percent. Some may not have viewed the categories as mutually exclusive.

[10] Appendix I.F provides a more detailed listing of findings. Appendix I.G discusses limitations and compares the findings to other research.

[11] We reviewed the interdisciplinary faculty carefully because of the large number in the sample drawn. A substantial number of faculty from the "hard sciences" (e.g., physical chemistry, nuclear engineering, environmental biology, etc.) were included in the sample as interdisciplinary. A total of 391 faculty on the list were identified as being in a science-based discipline. After long deliberations as to whether to exclude these faculty from the study, we decided to send the questionnaire to all 1,500 faculty and to keep an eye on response rates and responses by faculty in science-based disciplines in particular. Part of our consideration was based on our interest in determining whether diversity influences discussions/interactions in classrooms. The research team concluded that because of the way in which the survey was designed, it was most appropriate for faculty teaching in disciplines where social context may be most relevant in the curriculum and in classroom discussions/interactions.

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College Missions, Faculty Teaching, and Student Outcomes in a Context of Low Diversity

ROXANE HARVEY GUDEMAN, PH. D.

John Locke, writing about education in the late 17th century, compares a traveler in a strange land to an unknowing child (Locke, [1693] 1947, p. 309). Locke discusses the educational benefits of travel: the learner encounters difference and has the opportunity to engage in an exchange–a dialogue with others–that ideally rewards both. He suggests that a "young gentleman" is best sent abroad "when he is of age to govern himself, and make observations of what he finds in other countries worthy of his notice, and that might be of use to him after his return; and when, too, being thoroughly acquainted with the laws and fashions, the natural and moral advantages and defects of his own country, he has something to exchange with those abroad, from whose conversation he hoped to reap any knowledge" (pp. 385-86). In so saying, Locke voices a belief in the educational value of encounters with worlds of ideas and experience different from our own.

Open dialogue across difference lies at the heart of the vision of selective liberal arts colleges today in America.

Open dialogue across difference lies at the heart of the vision of selective liberal arts colleges today in America. As Martha Nussbaum (1997) observes:

> Our country [the United States] has embarked on an unparalleled experiment.... Unlike all other nations, we ask a higher education to contribute a general preparation for citizenship, not just a specialized preparation for a career.... We do not fully respect the humanity of our fellow citizens–or cultivate our own–if we do not wish to learn about them, to understand their history, to appreciate the differences between their lives and ours. We must therefore build a liberal education that is not only Socratic, emphasizing critical thought and respectful argument, but also pluralistic, imparting an understanding of the histories and contributions of groups with whom we interact... (pp. 294-95).

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Selective liberal arts colleges feel a sense of urgency about greater inclusion of students of color in the student body because they view a diverse community as essential to fulfilling their mission; yet most continue to have a student body not sufficiently diverse to ensure that students have the opportunity for dialogue across difference as often as would be desired.

Today's selective liberal arts colleges have tried to build communities crafted to offer the benefits of encounters across differences to faculty and students who enter as strangers and become collaborators in exploring a universe of ideas and perspectives shaped in part by the history each brings. In the last 30 years, these colleges have broadened their vision beyond traditional forms of difference (of interest, talent, geographic region, social class, national culture, and the like). Race has emerged as a valued source of differing insights. Though socially constructed and biologically meaningless (American Anthropological Association, [1998] 2000; Helms, 1994; Hirschfeld, 1996), race is significant in the United States because it has been and continues to be a meaningful social category used to justify differential rights of privilege and access. Its use has led to the building of subcommunities with distinctive cultural forms, different sociopolitical histories, and unique views about the history and promise of how social groups relate to one another.

This paper focuses on the educational missions of America's selective liberal arts colleges in relation to their perception of the value of diversity in fulfilling their educational goals. Having established that the majority of college missions include educational goals that must be supported by the creation of a diverse faculty and student body, I attempt to determine whether this belief is justified, by examining faculty experiences at Macalester College in St. Paul, Minnesota. Macalester was chosen as a test case because it has many of the attributes that should predict relative success at fulfilling the promise of diversity (Astin, 1997; Chang, 1999; Milem, in press-a; Milem, in press-b; Milem & Hakuta, 2000; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991). With a long history of commitment to diversity, Macalester has tried to incorporate this value into many facets of the college. Macalester's mission includes a commitment to multiculturalism. The college creates classroom, residential, and co-curricular environments that invite open dialogue and tolerance. These features have been found to be associated with greater success at achieving multicultural goals. Data from Macalester show that faculty support the college's commitment to diversity and believe that all students benefit from a diverse student body (and faculty).

I also suggest that selective liberal arts colleges feel a sense of urgency about greater inclusion of students of color in the student body because they view a diverse community as essential to fulfilling their mission; yet most continue to have a student body not sufficiently diverse to ensure that students have the opportunity for dialogue across difference as often as would be desired. Data from Macalester again are used to demonstrate how having too small a proportion of students of color affects classroom opportunities for conversation.

Colleges' freedom to construct educational communities that help fulfill their missions has existed since

America's founding. This right was affirmed by the Supreme Court in its 1978 *Regents of the University of California* v. *Bakke* decision. Alger (1997) observes:

> In *Bakke,* Justice Powell cited the university's academic freedom interest in setting the criteria for selection of its students to meet its educational goals. This relationship of diversity to academic freedom and to the university's educational mission implies that each institution is in the best position to determine its own diversity goals in light of its educational objectives (p. 22).

Recently, a flood of lawsuits brought by students denied admission to selective academic programs has begun to challenge that right. In effect, these lawsuits request a weighing of the interest of an educational community whose goal is to build an environment optimized for achieving its goals against the interest of an individual applicant who claims right of entry based on a single or few metrics of merit–usually scores on standardized tests. Such a single measure might be justified if the interests of individuals superseded those of educational communities–which they may not–and if the measures perfectly indexed scholarly potential–which they do not–and if scholarly excellence, narrowly defined, were colleges' and universities' only educational goal–which it is not. Thus, I demonstrate in this paper that selective liberal arts colleges have sound, legally justifiable educational reasons for constructing racially diverse academic communities.

PART 1: CONTENT ANALYSIS OF MISSION STATEMENTS OF TOP SELECTIVE LIBERAL ARTS COLLEGES

Background

American liberal arts colleges emerged from converging social, moral, and intellectual movements of the 19th century. Virtually all were sponsored by religious denominations and served to educate ministers, train teachers, and prepare young men to become responsible, moral, ethical members of their denominational and civic communities (O'Brien, 1998). Faculty, students, and administrators usually were members of the same religious and scholarly community, often with the same European ancestry. Continuing in this tradition today are such colleges as Concordia College in Saint Paul, Minnesota, and Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah.

Most of the top 25 liberal arts colleges in the United States share this history, but evolved into nonsectarian institutions committed to the development of scholarly expertise in the arts, sciences, and humanities that would serve the broader society. This evolution was fueled in part by the extraordinary optimism felt by an educated 19th century elite who believed that scientific progress and disciplined minds could end human suffering and moral imperfection by identifying and eliminating the natural and social causes thereof. For example, a group of reformers concerned about social welfare in an increasingly mobile and industrializing world formed the American

Social Science Association in Boston in 1865 (Furner, 1974, p. 2). One of the association's goals was to use science and knowledge to address social problems. Four divisions were created at its founding: social economy, public health, education, and jurisprudence. The founders noted that "when the laws of education, of public health, and of social economy are fully ascertained, the law of the land should recognize and define them all" (Furner, pp. 16-17).

The most selective and highly ranked liberal arts colleges continue to define their missions as incorporating academic excellence in service to society.

As classic small liberal arts colleges evolved into more secular institutions, they remained committed to the pursuit of knowledge, not just in the abstract, but as a way to achieve a variety of goals for their students, to include the fostering of creative scholarly expertise and scientific progress, self-understanding, wise citizenship, and commitment to community service.

Most U.S. colleges and universities have brief, succinct mission statements that define their core goals.[1] Typically, the mission reflects the consensus of the community about its essential values and purpose. This vision usually is put in writing and made official by vote of the governing body. In theory, the performance of everyone at the college should be evaluated in part by indexing the effectiveness of their contribution to the mission. (Sample mission statements from premier liberal arts colleges may be found in Table II.1.) Some statements are quite brief, consisting of a sentence or two, often supplemented by a more extended elaboration; others are long, incorporating both a statement of goals and an interpretation. The sample mission statements in Table II.1 demonstrate that America's selective liberal arts colleges share core educational values and goals even as they retain unique identities. Macalester, for example, is the only college that has "internationalism" as a core value; Washington and Lee uniquely focuses on "honor"; Williams casts its core values in a discussion of academic and civic virtues combined with character virtues. Most colleges frame their missions with reference to their past, the present, and a future to which they aspire.

Analysis of Mission Statements of Liberal Arts Colleges

Content analysis of America's "top" 28 liberal arts colleges, as ranked by *U.S. News and World Report* (2000), shows that the most selective and highly ranked liberal arts colleges continue to define their missions as incorporating academic excellence in service to society. (Appendix II.A describes the sample and methodology.)

The nine goals most often included in the mission statements of these colleges are (in order of frequency of mention): (1) the acquisition of intellectual mastery and rigor; (2) learning to value service to community; (3) learning perspectives from diversity; (4) developing self-knowledge and growing personally; (5) developing and nurturing a liberated, creative mind; (6) gaining an increased capacity for tolerance, respect, and concern for others; (7) acquiring the skills and motivation for social leadership; (8) developing

Table II.1

Excerpts from Sample Mission Statements from Selective Liberal Arts Colleges

Bowdoin College, Web *(US News & World Report*, #9)

"...Bowdoin's intellectual mission is informed by the humbling and cautionary lesson of the 20th century: that intellect and cultivation, unless informed by a basic sense of decency, of tolerance and mercy, are ultimately destructive of both the person and society. The purpose of a Bowdoin education–the mission of the College–is therefore to assist a student to deepen and broaden intellectual capacities that are also attributes of maturity and wisdom: self-knowledge, intellectual honesty, clarity of thought, depth of knowledge, and an independent capacity to learn, mental courage, self-discipline, tolerance of and interest in differences and cultural belief, and a willingness to serve the common good and subordinate self to higher goals." *(Final paragraph of long mission)*

Davidson College *(US News & World Report*, #11)

"To liberate the minds of young men and women for useful lives of leadership and service." *(Entire Mission)*

Macalester College Catalogue *(US News & World Report*, #24)

"Macalester is committed to being a preeminent liberal arts college with an educational program known for its high standards for scholarship and its special emphasis on internationalism, multiculturalism, and service to society." *(Entire Mission)*

Mount Holyoke, Web *(US News & World Report*, #16)

"Mount Holyoke College reaffirms its commitment to educating a diverse community of women at the highest level of academic excellence and to fostering the alliance of liberal arts education with purposeful engagement in the world." *(Entire Mission)*

Supplementary Principles of the College:

"...The liberal arts college is therefore based on and defends certain central convictions and assumptions. It maintains that the search for knowledge and compassionate understanding is a central and not a peripheral human activity. The college assumes a continuity in human endeavor, and therefore the necessity of learning in the present about and from the past. Such an institution maintains that in a diverse and increasingly divided world there is urgent need for a common language of educated awareness and rational discourse, and that the perspective gained from knowledge of the nature, scope, and quality of our various worlds is not to be mistaken for disengagement from the world as it is or might become. The liberal arts college defends the right of all to seek knowledge for its own sake, without immediate regard to its utility, and affirms also that the world would suffer without the leaven of those who engage in this pursuit. Finally, Mount Holyoke College believes that the tools of thought and attitudes of mind acquired in a liberal arts college can be translated into the acts by which, without violence, things that do violence to the world are changed."

Trinity College *(US News & World Report*, #22)

"Trinity College is a community united in a quest for excellence in liberal arts education. Our paramount purpose is to foster critical thinking, free the mind of parochialism and prejudice, and prepare students to lead examined lives that are personally satisfying, civically responsible, and socially useful." *(First paragraph of Mission)*

University of the South *(US News & World Report*, #25)

"The University of the South, an institution of the Episcopal Church, exists for education in such disciplines as will increase knowledge, understanding, and wisdom, pursued in close community and in full freedom of inquiry, and enlightened by Christian faith, to the end that students may be prepared to search for truth, to seek justice for all, to preserve liberty under law, and to love and serve God and humanity..." *(Excerpt from University Purpose)*

Washington and Lee University *(US News & World Report*, #14)

"Washington and Lee University has two preeminent objectives: to dedicate all its resources to developing in its students the capacity and desire to learn, to understand, and to share the fruits of their intellectual growth, and to pursue its educational mission in a climate of learning that stresses the importance of the individual, personal honor and integrity, harmonious relationships with others, and the responsibility to serve society through the productive use of talent and training."

"...(A)ware of the great men whose name it bears, the University seeks to develop in its students the qualities of mind and spirit they exemplified and demonstrated in their regard for personal honor and integrity, for duty, for tolerance and humility, and for self-sacrifice in behalf of their fellow citizens." *(Excerpt from Mission)*

Williams College *(US News & World Report*, #3)

"Our mission is to nurture in outstanding students the academic and civic virtues, and the related virtues of character, in the intellectual tradition of the residential liberal arts college and in the context of the current and future needs for leadership in our society. The academic virtues include the capacities to read closely, explore widely, express clearly, research deeply, connect imaginatively, listen empathetically. The civic virtues include commitment to engage the public realm and community life, and the skills to do so effectively. These virtues, in turn, have associated virtues of character. One cannot research deeply without the virtue of perseverance. One cannot listen empathetically without the virtue of tolerance and respect. One cannot be committed to community life without the virtue of concern for others..." *(Excerpt from Mission and Objectives)*

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Table II.2

Core Values in Mission Statements of Top 25 (28) Liberal Arts Colleges

	Intellectual Mastery	*Service to* Community	*Personal* Growth	*Diverse* Perspectives	*Liberated,* Curious	*Tolerance,* Respect	*Moral,* Ethical	*Leadership*	*Creativity,* Imagination
1. Swarthmore College	+	+	+				+		+
2. Amherst College	+			+		+			
3. Williams College	+	+				+	+	+	
4. Wellesley College	▲	▲		▲	▲			+	
5. Haverford College	+	+	+	+		+	+		
5. Middlebury College	+	▲		▲		▲	▲	▲	
7. Pomona College	+			+		+			+
8. Carleton College	+	+	+		+			+	
9. Bowdoin College	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	
10. Wesleyan University	+	+	+		+				
11. Davidson College	▲	+			+	▲		+	▲
11. Grinnell College	+	+	+	+		▲			
13. Smith College	+	+					+	+	+
14. Washington & Lee University	+	+		+	+	+	+		+
14. Claremont McKenna College	+	+						+	
16. Mount Holyoke College	+	+	▲	+	▲	▲	▲		
17. Vassar College	+	+	+		+				+
18. Colby College	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
18. Colgate University	+		+	+					
18. Hamilton College	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
18. Bryn Mawr College	+	▲		▲	▲				
22. Trinity College (CT)	+	+	+		+	+			
23. Bates College	+	+			+			+	
24. Macalester College	+	+	▲	+		▲	▲		
25. Colorado College	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
25. Connecticut College	+	+	+	+			+	+	
25. Oberlin College	+	+	+	+		+	+		+
25. University of the South	+	+	+		+		+		
TOTAL (Mission with or without Supplement/Supplement Only Added)	26/28	22/25	15/17	14/17	11/14	11/16	10/13	11/12	8/9

Key:

+ = Value found in core mission statement

▲ = Value found in supplement to mission statement

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ethical and moral judgment; and (9) fostering creativity and imagination. The categories are self-explanatory. (See Appendix II.A for examples.) The two categories that overlap most are "learning perspectives from diversity" (hereafter called "learning diverse perspectives") and "gaining an increased capacity for tolerance, respect, and concern for others" (hereafter, "tolerance"). In scoring, a focus on the cognitive benefits of diversity was counted in the first category; a focus on the social-relational benefits of diversity was counted in the second category.

Table II.2 (previous page) indicates whether the mission statements of each of the 28 colleges refers to each of these values in its mission statement (indicated by "+") or in a statement supporting and interpreting the mission (indicated by "▲").

Table II.3 summarizes the percentage of colleges that refer to each value in their mission statement (and, sometimes, supplement) or only in the supplement. Four core values or educational goals appear in the missions of 50 percent or more of the colleges: (1) intellectual mastery and rigor; (2) service to community; (3) self-knowledge and personal growth; and (4) learning diverse perspectives. If the tolerance category is added to the learning diverse perspectives category, then 57.1 percent of the colleges would be judged to have included a diversity focus in their missions, making diversity/tolerance the third most frequently mentioned goal. When the values and goals referred to in the mission are supplemented by those appearing in explanatory materials, proportions increase, but the relative order remains almost the same with six values endorsed by at least half of the colleges: (1) intellectual mastery (96 percent); (2) service to community (89 percent); (3) self-knowledge and personal growth (61 percent); (4) learning diverse perspectives (61 percent); (5) tolerance (57 percent); and (6) a liberated, curious mind (50 percent).

It is striking that except for "creativity and imagination," all the values and goals listed are supported by more than 40 percent of the 28 colleges. This finding strongly supports the conclusion that America's selective liberal arts colleges continue to have as their core missions a range of developmental outcomes that include intellectual goals in the service of social, personal, and ethical goals, not just the decontextualized acquisition of analytic and specialist expertise.

Table II.3

Percent of Selective Liberal Arts Colleges that Include Each of Nine Core Values in Their Mission Statement, with and without Supplementary Materials

Values/Means/Goals Top 28 Selective Liberal Arts Colleges	In Mission Statement		In Mission Statement and/or Support Statement	
	%	n	%	n
1. Intellectual Mastery	92.9	(26)	96.4	(27)
2. Service to Community	78.6	(22)	89.3	(25)
3. Self-knowledge, Personal Growth	53.6	(15)	60.7	(17)
4. Learn Perspectives from Diversity	50.0	(14)	60.7	(17)
5. Liberated, Curious Mind	39.3	(11)	50.0	(14)
6. Tolerance, Respect, Concern for Others	39.3	(11)	57.1	(16)
7. Learn Social Leadership	39.3	(11)	42.9	(12)
8. Develop Ethical, Moral Judgment	35.7	(10)	46.4	(13)
9. Foster Creativity, Imagination	28.6	(8)	32.1	(9)

PART II: MACALESTER COLLEGE

Enacting Diversity in the Absence of Structural Diversity

It is clear that liberal arts colleges in general are likely to have a contemporary commitment to diversity, as reflected in their mission statements. Macalester College is proud to have flown the United Nations flag below the United States flag since the U.N.'s founding; the college also has a historic commitment to domestic diversity. Like many U.S. colleges and universities, Macalester launched a major initiative to recruit students of color in 1968. But Macalester's outreach was far more ambitious and well-planned than most (Peterson, Blackburn, Gamson, Arce, Davenport & Mingle, 1978). In a study of the introduction of African Americans to 13 historically white campuses, researchers found that "Macalester made the most extensive commitment to black enrollments and drafted the most comprehensive initial plan for black and other minority programs" (p. 101).[2] Students of color of all ethnicities were eligible for the program.

It is clear that liberal arts colleges in general are likely to have a contemporary commitment to diversity, as reflected in their mission statements.

• Fully 92 percent of Macalester College's faculty respondents said that having a racially or ethnically diverse student body was essential or very important to achieving the college's mission, and approximately 90 percent disagreed with the view that a focus on racial and ethnic diversity lowered the quality of the institution or the student body.

The national Faculty Classroom Diversity Questionnaire (described and analyzed in the Maruyama & Moreno study in this monograph) was pilot tested at Macalester in spring 1998. The questions in the pretest were substantially the same as those in the final survey (which is reproduced as a supplement to this monograph).[3] The results of the pretest survey indicated that, on average, Macalester faculty found diverse classrooms to have positive educational outcomes. These results may be unique to Macalester at least in part because the college has many of the institutional features that facilitate successful outcomes in multicultural learning environments. A full report of this research may be found in a soon-to-be-published paper (Gudeman, in press) in which I report that Macalester College faculty members find teaching in diverse classrooms to have many specific benefits that occur more frequently in multicultural than in monocultural environments. Faculty who have had more experience with structurally diverse classrooms report greater benefit.

Fully 92.3 percent of the 78[4] faculty respondents indicated that having a racially or ethnically diverse student body was essential or very important to achieving the college's mission. Ninety percent of the faculty members *disagree* with the view that too much focus on racial and ethnic diversity has lowered the quality of the institution, and 89 percent *disagree* with the view that an emphasis on diversity has lowered the quality of the student body.

The majority of faculty with experience teaching in structurally diverse

classes report the following classroom benefits: (a) students become more willing to examine their perspectives and values; (b) students are introduced to more issues and perspectives; (c) students are exposed to ideas and points of view that they disagree with or do not understand; (d) students' stereotypes about important issues in academic disciplines are confronted more often; and (e) students' social and political stereotypes are confronted more often. Faculty respondents who assigned readings or taught classes in which race and ethnicity was a focal topic reported greater benefit than did those who did neither. For example, faculty members who teach content related to diversity found that students in racially and ethnically diverse classes developed a heightened capacity to think critically. Finally, most faculty members did not find that racial and ethnic diversity in the classroom created barriers to discussion or tension that disrupted the educational goals of the class.

When asked whether a critical mass of students of color was important, faculty respondents agreed overwhelmingly that students of color participated in class discussions more often when other students of color were present. Eighty percent of faculty members who taught classes focused on race or ethnicity reported that a critical mass of students of color enhanced the beneficial effects of diversity. Interestingly, when asked to define a "critical mass," the majority of faculty members reported a percentage higher than they had ever taught and higher than the overall proportion of students of color at Macalester.

The Faculty Classroom Diversity Questionnaire results also indicated that Macalester faculty found diversity an important tool in fulfilling the college's mission; and faculty also reported a variety of positive educational benefits to all students. These benefits are enhanced when greater diversity is present or when a core topic in the class concerns race.

The more a commitment to achieving its goals permeates an institution, the more successful the institution is likely to be at reaching those goals. One index of the pervasiveness of a college's goals is support from a faculty possessing cherished rights to freedom of thought and opinion. As Lowe (1999) points out, "Centrally expressed values and activities promoting diversity ... [may] emanate from the leaders of colleges and universities." However, he continues, "[i]f the opinions and beliefs of institutional constituents do not corroborate the expressed values about pluralism of the institution itself, the academic environment will be inhospitable" (p. 15).

Macalester's values are enunciated in a concise mission statement: "Macalester is committed to being a preeminent liberal arts college with an educational program known for its high standards for scholarship and its special emphasis on internationalism, multiculturalism, and service to society." At the college, these values have been referred to as "the pillars." But do the faculty believe that the

Faculty members who teach content related to diversity found that students in racially and ethnically diverse classes developed a heightened capacity to think critically.

college is committed to enacting this mission? And are the faculty personally committed to the mission?

I addressed these questions using data from UCLA's fall 1998 Higher Education Research Institute survey of 104 Macalester faculty members, a part of the institute's periodic survey of faculty at several hundred institutions of higher learning (Higher Education Research Institute, 2000; Sax, Astin, Korn & Gilmartin, 1999).[5] One part of the survey solicited information about faculty members' perceptions of their institution's commitments and of the campus climate; another focused on faculty members' personal views about the goals of education, their own motivations for entering academia, their professional goals and rewards, and their opinions about a variety of academically controversial issues. I selected for analysis questions that pertained to three of Macalester's core values: high standards of scholarship or academic excellence, service to community, and multiculturalism.[6]

Most Macalester faculty members perceive the college to be committed to its core values and support them personally as well, though different ones may have higher priority for different faculty members. Regardless of their personal educational priorities, faculty members report that a diverse campus benefits all students.

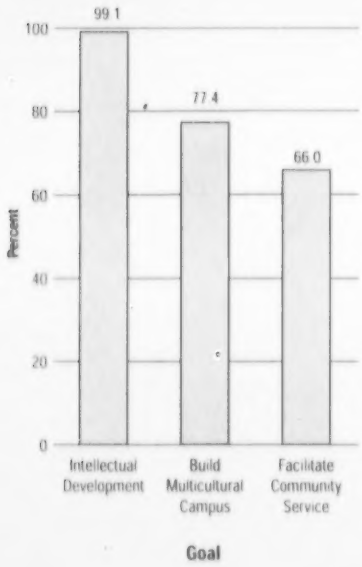
Regardless of their personal educational priorities, faculty members report that a diverse campus benefits all students.

• Macalester faculty members perceived creating a multicultural campus as a high institutional priority.

A set of items in the Higher Education Research Institute survey asked faculty respondents to indicate whether a list of goals had "highest priority," "high priority," "medium priority," or "low priority" at their college or university. Three of these items reflect Macalester's core values: (1) "to promote the intellectual development of students" (hereafter, "intellectual development"); (2) "to facilitate student involvement in community service" (hereafter, "community service"); and (3) "to create a diverse multicultural campus environment" (hereafter, "diverse environment"). On average, faculty members perceived all three goals to be a high or highest priority at a rate significantly above chance. On a scale in which 4 = highest priority, 3 = high priority, and 2 = medium priority, the average faculty score was 3.88 on intellectual development,[7] 3.10 on a diverse environment,[8] and 2.8 on community service.[9] Although the perceived commitment level was high for all three values, faculty saw the institution as more committed to intellectual development than to the other two values, and they perceived the college to be significantly more committed to a diverse environment than to community service.[10] (Figure II.1 shows the average scores on each core value item.)

Figure II.1

Percent of Faculty Who Judge the Institution to Hold Core Values as High or Highest Priorities



Macalester faculty members overwhelmingly (99 percent) perceived the college as having the intellectual development of students as a high priority. A large majority (77 percent) also perceived the college as being committed to a diverse environment. Faculty members were somewhat more divided as to whether community service was a priority, although a majority (66 percent) agreed that it was.

• A substantial majority of Macalester faculty members said that teaching about race and ethnicity was an essential or very important educational goal for undergraduate students.

The question addressed in this section was whether faculty members support the college's core mission. Macalester faculty members were virtually unanimous in saying that developing students' ability to think clearly was a very important or essential goal of their teaching, and a majority of faculty members said that preparing students for responsible citizenship and enhancing their knowledge and appreciation of other racial and ethnic groups were essential or very important goals.

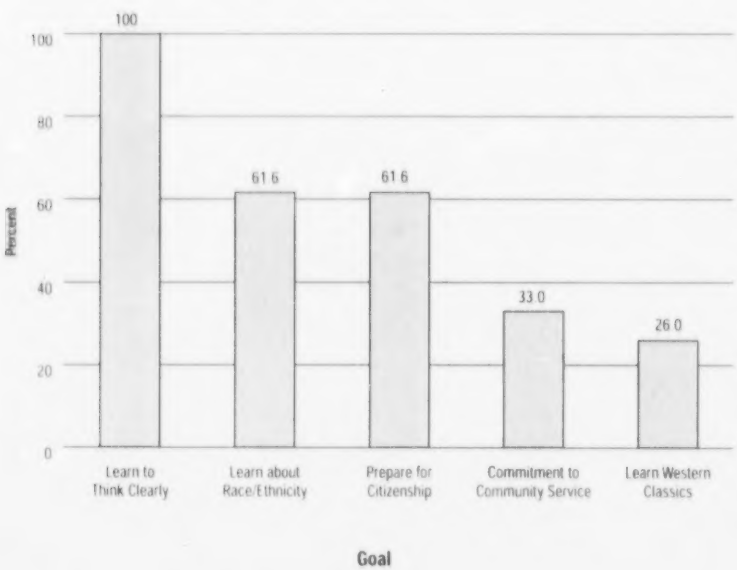
Five items on the institute's survey measured faculty support for three of Macalester's educational goals for undergraduates. The precise list varied somewhat from the list of institutional priorities cited in the preceding section of this paper. Faculty members were asked to indicate whether they personally judge a list of educational goals for undergraduates to be "essential," "very important," "somewhat important," or "not important." Support for multiculturalism was measured by asking if a personal goal was to "enhance students' knowledge of and appreciation for other racial/ethnic groups" (hereafter, "teaching about race and ethnicity"). Scholarly excellence was measured by two goals: (1) to "develop the ability to think clearly" (hereafter, "teaching clear thinking") and (2) to "teach students the classic works of Western civilization" (hereafter, "teaching Western classics"). A commitment to community service was also indexed by two goals: (1) to "prepare [students] for responsible citizenship" (hereafter, "preparing for citizenship") and 2) to "instill in students a commitment

to community service" (hereafter, "preparing for community service").

Faculty respondents viewed all five goals as at least somewhat important, but only three were judged to be very important or essential by a majority of the faculty members: teaching clear thinking; teaching about race and ethnicity; and preparing for citizenship. Figure II.2 shows the percent of faculty who believed that each of the goals was essential or very important.

Faculty respondents unanimously supported teaching clear thinking; all 102 faculty respondents[11] viewed it as either essential (89.2 percent) or very important (10.8 percent), while only 26 percent viewed teaching Western classics as essential or very important. A majority of respondents (61.6 percent) supported teaching about race and ethnicity, with 38.4 percent saying such learning was very important and 23.2 saying such learning was essential. An identical percentage (61.6 percent) supported the goal of preparing for citizenship, again with 38.4 percent saying it was very important and 23.2 percent saying it was essential. In contrast, only 33 percent of faculty members strongly supported the goal of preparing for community service, with 27 percent saying it was very important and 6 percent saying it was essential. Faculty members who had "teaching about race and ethnicity" as a goal also strongly supported preparing for citizenship and preparing for community service, suggesting that the same faculty members are likely to support strongly (or not) these social goals.[12]

Percent of Faculty Who Perceive Each Educational Goal as Essential or Very Important



• Macalester faculty members overwhelmingly believe that a racially and ethnically diverse student body enhances the educational experience of all students.

Although the Higher Education Research Institute survey did not ask faculty members to evaluate whether specific kinds of educational benefits were more likely to accrue in diverse classes, it did ask whether they agreed strongly, agreed somewhat, disagreed somewhat, or disagreed strongly with the statement that "a racially/ethnically diverse student body enhances the educational experience of all students" (hereafter,

"diversity enhances learning"). I used the responses to this item as a measure of whether faculty members perceive diversity as contributing to the college's ability to fulfill its educational mission.

Overall, Macalester faculty reported almost unanimously that the presence of students of color has educational value. A remarkable 97 percent of the 100 respondents either agreed strongly (64 percent) or agreed somewhat (33 percent) that diversity enhances learning.[13] Only three faculty members disagreed somewhat, and none disagreed strongly. This strong endorsement means that the majority of faculty who do not wholeheartedly endorse some of the practices used to try to create a diverse environment or who are not fully committed to the importance of learning about race and ethnicity *still* find a diverse learning environment to be of educational benefit. Of the 26 percent of Macalester faculty who view learning Western classics as essential or very important, fully 96 percent agree (half of them strongly, half of them somewhat) that diversity has educational benefits. Similarly, 96 percent of those who think that learning about race and ethnicity is of little or no importance agreed strongly (43.2 percent) or agreed somewhat (51.4 percent) that diversity enhances learning. Finally, even those few who believe that "promoting diversity leads to the admission of too many underprepared students" rated diversity to be of value. Of the 21 faculty members who hold this view, 33.3 percent agreed strongly and 66.7 percent agreed somewhat that diversity enhances learning.

At Macalester, only three faculty members in a sample of 100 judged that having a diverse environment did not contribute to the educational experience of students.

• Forty percent of Macalester's classes have no African-American or Latino students in them, and U.S. students of color find themselves the sole member of their race or ethnic group in two-thirds of their classes.

Although selective liberal arts colleges such as Macalester seek a diverse student body and are more likely to provide the classroom climate, teaching-oriented faculty, and pedagogical environment that can make effective educational use of diversity, they are, arguably, the institutions least likely to have diverse classrooms. Milem (in press-a), using data from the Higher Education Governance Institutional Survey, reports that at Carnegie I Category liberal arts institutions,[14] the average percentage of students who are Americans of color is 8.6 (3.6 percent African American, 2.9 percent Asian American, 1.8 percent Latino, and 0.2 percent Native American.)

Macalester prides itself on small class sizes and the use of non-lecture based teaching methods. But all too often, Macalester's classes are not diverse, even though the college has a larger proportion of U.S. students of color (an eight-year average of 13 percent; 17 percent in the fall

Table II.4

Percentage of Classes of Five or More Students Containing NO students of a Given Category, Spring 1998

	%	n
Percentage of Classes with:		
No students from underrepresented racial/ethnic groups (African American; Latino; Native American)	40.2	142
No Native American students	98.6	348
No African-American students	63.5	224
No Latino students	62.9	222
No U.S. students of color (Above + Asian American)	23.2	82
No Asian-American students	49.6	175
No International students	28.9	102
No European-American students	0.0	353

1999 entering class) than most liberal arts colleges. To determine how frequently students and faculty experience diverse classrooms at Macalester, I examined the distribution of students by racial category in all 353 classes with five or more registered students taught in the spring 1998 semester. In fall 1997, the racial and ethnic composition of registered students was 76 percent European American, 3 percent African American, 3 percent Latino, and 4 percent Asian American, with a negligible representation of Native Americans. Table II.4 shows the percentage of classes in which given categories of students were entirely absent.

No classes failed to have a white student. Forty percent of classes had no U.S. student of color from an underrepresented group (African American, Latino, and Native American). When data on Asian-American enrollments are combined with those for other students of color, 23 percent of classes still had no student of color. Macalester also values internationalism; yet 29 percent of its classes had no international students enrolled in them. Students in the 142 classes with no underrepresented students of color, or in the 102 classes with no international students, thus were unable to share perspectives and engage in dialogue with members of these communities or to explore the similarities and dissimilarities that exist across differences of race and nationality. That the classes may have been conducted in a teaching style likely to facilitate such exchanges was moot. The absence of students of color from 23 percent of Macalester's classes that semester represents a lost opportunity for students to engage in dialogue across racial and ethnic lines. Respondents to the Faculty Classroom Diversity Questionnaire who found that diversity had pedagogical value reported that classroom dialogue was more successful when a critical mass of students of different racial/ethnic groups was present. When faculty who view diversity as a teaching tool have no students of color–or only token representation–in their classes, they also feel a sense of lost possibility.

Now let's reverse the perspective and focus on what students of color likely experienced in the classes in which they *were* enrolled. Table II.5 shows the percentage of classes in which U.S. students of color found themselves the *only* member of their racial or ethnic group.

In most of their classes, American students of color were the sole member of their racial or ethnic

group. Native American students were never in a class with any other Native Americans. About two-thirds of the time, African-American and Latino students were the sole member of their racial or ethnic group in class. Asian Americans had this experience about 61 percent of the time. When a student is the only member of his or her race or ethnicity in a class, both the student and his or her classmates lose the opportunity to explore the similarities and differences of perspective, experience, and belief that exist within and between socially significant groups.

Table II.5

Percentage of Classes Taken by U.S. Students of Color in Which They Were a Solo, Spring 1998

Of those Macalaster College classes of five or more students that enrolled U.S. students of color, how often did the student find themselves to be the ONLY member of their specific race/ethnicity in the class?

	% Solo	Solo/All Classes Registered
Percent of Classes in which the student was a solo:		
Solo/All Classes Registered		
The **only** Native American student	100.0	5/5
The **only** African-American student	66.7	86/129
The **only** Latino student	64.1	84/131
The **only** Asian-American student	61.2	109/178
The **only** European-American student	0.0	0/353

The cost to students of color from historically undervalued groups who are alone in the classroom may be even greater. Social psychologists have found that being a solo minority in a group can have negative consequences. A solo is more likely to be objectified and treated as representative of a category than as a unique person. When a person is a solo or part of a very small minority, then both she and majority others are more likely to perceive her participation as either anomalous or discrepant and to overemphasize racial difference when perceiving and assessing "the other." Virginia Valian (1998) has summarized some of these dynamics in the context of gender. She describes research showing that performance expectations for women become increasingly positive as women make up an increasing proportion of a given performance category, even while remaining a minority. Furthermore, as the proportion of women increases, less and less attention is focused on the individual as a female rather than as, say, a student. As Valian notes, "Perhaps counterintuitively, the more numerous women are, the less important their gender is" (p. 139). Analogously, it can be argued that the more numerous students of color are, the less they will be perceived only as icons of their race or ethnicity.

When I have reported these findings at Macalester, many faculty and administrators have been surprised (though they soon recognized that they should not have been). On a campus that values small classes and the student body of which comprises approximately 13 percent students of color, a large minority of classes inevitably will have either no students of color or solo representation. It really is more a matter of mathematical and probability theory than social theory. In fall 1998, Macalester had an average of 16.7 students per class; in fall 1999, the average was 16.3 students per class. The expected

number of students of color in a class with 16.3 students, given 13 percent students of color, is two. Given 4.1 percent African-American students (the proportion in fall 1999), a class would have to have had 49 students before the expected number of African-American students would have reached two. In fall 1999, when only 2.7 percent of students were Latino, a class of 74 students would have been needed before a Latino student could expect to be in class with another Latino. But classes rarely reach this size at Macalester. For example, of the 395 courses offered in fall 1999, only 12 (3 percent) enrolled 40 or more students. And larger classes are less likely than smaller ones to offer opportunities for students to participate in discussion.

A similar distributional phenomenon is characteristic of classes of 15 to 25 students at all colleges and universities with minority populations of less than about 15 percent, regardless of total enrollment. For example, 11.4 percent of the University of Minnesota-Twin Cities' 45,361 students in fall 1998 were U.S. students of color. Of those, 3.2 percent were African American, 0.7 percent were Native American, 7.1 percent were Asian/Pacific American, and 2.0 percent were Chicano/Latino.[15] This large public university, whose mission includes a commitment to diversity, would be expected to have monocultural learning environments in many (20-30 percent) of its smaller classes, even though the total number of students of color enrolled (5,150) was much greater than at Macalester.[16]

Of course, students do not randomly distribute themselves across course offerings, so some classes at Macalester have robust "critical masses" of students of color. Consider, for example, the distribution of African-American students in classes in spring 1998: the departments of chemistry, dramatic arts, physics, political science, psychology, and religion each had two or more African-American students in at least 25 percent of their classes. Yet 25 other academic programs had two or more African-American students in fewer than 25 percent of their classes; 11 of the programs had no classes with more than one African-American student. The figures would be far more dismal for Native American students, about the same for Latino students, and slightly better for Asian-American students.

PART III: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION: THE CASE FOR DIVERSITY

The analysis of the 28 selective liberal arts colleges' mission statements presented in Part 1 of this paper documents that these colleges continue to have a wide range of educational goals, including academic excellence; learning diverse perspectives from people of diverse races, ethnicities, and cultures; commitment to community service; and personal and moral growth. The data presented in

Part 2 show Macalester College as a particular case of the relationship between an institution's mission, its faculty's perception of the college's commitment to the mission, faculty members' own commitment to it, and their judgment about whether a diverse environment enhances students' educational experience. Analysis of both data sets–the Faculty Classroom Diversity Questionnaire Pretest and the Higher Education Research Institute faculty survey–suggests that at Macalester College, diversity is judged to have great educational value. But Macalester often is unable to benefit from diversity because the student population in a sizable minority of its classes is monocultural or at best minimally bicultural.

The inability to enact its mission in many classes is a source of great concern at the college. The fact that Macalester is similar to many other smaller liberal arts colleges in the country, along with substantial anecdotal evidence, suggests that Macalester is not unique. In the debate about who should have the "right" to be admitted to selective colleges and universities, the historic commitment of liberal arts colleges to create communities that support their educational missions–both academic and social–has been lost or minimized. Yet in virtually every college community, the capacity for these other kinds of learning–potentials not measured by IQ and SAT tests–is critical to the institutions' well-being and therefore is and ought to be an essential element in decisions about student admission, faculty and staff hiring, academic programs, and extracurricular activities. The debate about affirmative action and current legal cases have deflected public discourse away from consideration of the range of qualities that makes individuals potentially valued participants in a learning community. It has ignored the educational value of a diverse learning environment to *all* students– a value attested to even by expert scholar/teachers who themselves do not teach about diversity in their classes. To the dismay of colleges and their faculties, who seek to shape their communities so as optimally to fulfill all their educational goals, the debate has failed to address the fundamental question of how well test scores and high school grades predict a potential student's commitment to community service, to engagement with and learning from others of different beliefs and perspectives, or to demonstrating intellectual courage or artistic creativity. Considering qualities of character, commitment, and service–side by side with academic achievement and intellectual promise–represents a practice and a set of values that existed long before affirmative action was ever heard of, and will continue long after affirmative action ceases to be necessary.

In the debate about who should have the "right" to be admitted to selective colleges and universities, the historic commitment of liberal arts colleges to create communities that support their educational missions—both academic and social—has been lost or minimized.

APPENDIX II Methodology Used in Analyzing the Mission Statements of the Top 25 (29) National Liberal Arts Colleges

Sample

The sample colleges were the top 25 national selective liberal arts colleges in *U.S. News and World Report's* (2000) most recent listing of the top 40 such schools. *U.S. News and World Report* classifies institutions of higher learning according to the categories developed by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (1994; 2000). The Carnegie Foundation based its 1994 sorting on the highest degree awarded at institutions. Those whose highest degree awarded is a bachelor of arts are categorized as "Liberal Arts" or "Baccalaureate" institutions. This group is further subdivided into "Liberal Arts I" and "Liberal Arts II" categories on the basis of selectivity (judged by entering students' entrance exam scores and high school class rank). *U.S. News and World Report* labels the 162 Carnegie Liberal Arts I institutions "national liberal arts colleges" and the 429 Liberal Arts II colleges "regional liberal arts colleges." The magazine has developed a grading system that ranks the quality of institutions within each Carnegie category. Attributes which contribute to the ranking are: academic reputation, student retention, faculty resources, student selectivity, financial resources, graduation rate, and alumni giving.[17] *U.S. News* has chosen to focus attention on the qualitative ranking of the top 40 national liberal arts colleges that appear in a separate list accessible from the magazine's web page. There are actually 29 institutions in *U.S. News's* top 25 because five colleges are ranked 25th as a result of ties.

The colleges, in order, are: (1) Swarthmore College, (2) Amherst College, (3) Williams College, (4) Wellesley College, (5) Haverford College, (5) Middlebury College, (7) Pomona College, (8) Carleton College, (9) Bowdoin College, (10) Wesleyan University, (11) Davidson College, (11) Grinnell College, (13) Smith College, (14) Washington and Lee University, (14) Claremont McKenna College, (16) Mount Holyoke College, (17) Vassar College, (18) Colby College, (18) Colgate University, (18) Hamilton College, (18) Bryn Mawr College, (22) Trinity College CT, (23) Bates College, (24) Macalester College, (25) Colorado College, (25) Connecticut College, (25) Oberlin College, (25) The University of the South, and (25) Barnard College.

Procedure

I sought the official mission statements for each of the top 29 institutions by searching web sites and by consulting a compilation of mission statements of the top 40 national liberal arts colleges prepared by Macalester College's Office of Institutional Research. My goal was to locate statements that had been officially endorsed by the institutions' governing bodies or that otherwise expressed an enduring collective institutional mission. I was able to locate statements that appeared to reflect a collective commitment for 28 of the colleges; however, I was unable to locate a mission statement that I was confident about for Barnard College. The current president, Judith Shapiro, discussed Barnard's mission in her inaugural speech in 1994. At least one subsequent reference is made to her inaugural statement, in a letter from her welcoming visitors to the college web site: "As I said in my 1994 inaugural address, Barnard is committed to the mission of a women's college, to the importance of New York City as a classroom, and to a liberal arts education that prepares our students to move across cultural boundaries." Had this statement been used in the analysis, the results would have been approximately the same.

Analysis

Some mission statements go by other names, such as "statement of purpose." Some are quite brief; others are much longer. Some have closely associated supplementary statements that expand on the mission, sometimes elaborating on the core values and goals, sometimes describing conditions necessary for fulfilling the mission. I also analyzed these; in creating numerical summaries of the frequency of occurrence of different educational goals and values, I indicated whether the value appeared in the core mission (and possibly also in the supplement) or only in the supplement.

Table II.6

Nine Categories of Core Values Found in Mission Statements, with the Subcategories Included in Each, and Examples

Values/Means/Goals Top 28 Selective Liberal Arts Colleges	Initial Categories Combined	Examples
1. Intellectual Mastery	1	"Middlebury College is committed to excellence throughout its liberal arts curriculum .... [and] admits students who show evidence of intellectual curiosity, high motivation, and superior academic accomplishment." "For its students, the aims of Oberlin College are: ...to equip them with skills of creative thought, technique, and critical analysis...; to acquaint them with the growing scope and substance of human thought; to provide for their intensive training in the discipline of a chosen area of knowledge."
2. Service to Community	5, 19	"[Middlebury] College seeks students who are actively involved and committed to the ideals of community." "For its students, the aims of Oberlin College are: ...to expand their social awareness, social responsibility ... so as to prepare them for ... useful response to the present and future demands of society."
3. Self-knowledge, Personal Growth	2	"...a concern for individual growth ... personal growth." (Haverford)
4. Learn Perspectives from Diversity	9, 16	"...recruit faculty and students representing diverse backgrounds and perspectives." (Haverford) "[Bowdoin] College also causes these [individual] decisions to occur in a context of density and variety–of ideas, artistic expression, and exposure to other cultures and races–so that personal identity will not become an illusion of centrality."
5. Liberated, Curious Mind	14, 15	"Bowdoin makes few decisions for students ... believing that students grow morally and sharpen personal identity by exercising free individual choice among varied alternatives..."
6. Tolerance, Respect, Concern for Others	8, 18	"...an education that leads one out of the narrowness and prejudices of one's own experience and toward a fuller awareness of oneself and the world." (Bryn Mawr) "Within a framework of mutual respect ... students question one another's ideas and assumptions." (Amherst)
7. Learn Social Leadership	4	"...develop ... perceptive leaders." (Colgate) "Middlebury ... expects its graduates to be ethical leaders able to meet the challenges of informed citizenship."
8. Develop Ethical, Moral Judgment	3	"... the excellence of its academic program is deepened by its spiritual, moral, and ethical dimensions..." (Haverford) "For its students, the aims of Oberlin College are: ... to expand their ... capacity for moral judgment."
9. Foster Creativity, Imagination	11	"For its students, the aims of Oberlin College are: ... to foster their understanding of the creative process and to develop their appreciation of creative, original work."

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Stage 1 of data analysis consisted of reading through all the mission statements to get an overview of the kinds of values and goals expressed. Stage 2 involved identifying and clustering similar goals and values. I underlined each primary goal, principle, or value and assigned it a code number. To ensure that my analytic categories reflected the core meanings in the missions, I initially used 18 categories for classifying key meanings. (The categories are listed below.) The first number to follow each category indicates the number of core missions statements (or mission statements and supplements) that include that value. The second number (after the slash) adds to the prior sum the number of instances in which a value appeared only in a supplementary statement and not in the core mission. The eighteen classes of values and educational goals were:

(1) academic rigor and mastery, 27/28;

(2) personal growth, individual development, self-knowledge, 15/17;

(3) ethical and moral judgment, moral development, 10/13;

(4) social leadership, 11/12;

(5) serve the community, 22/24;

(6) internationalism, 1/1;

(7) bring about social change, 0/1;

(8) tolerance of, respect for others, 10/15;

(9) learn new cultural perspectives from diversity, 8/11;

(10) explore spiritual life, 1/2;

(11) self-expression, creativity, and imagination, 8/9;

(12) cooperate with others, 0/1;

(13) acquire a liberated, independent mind, 11/12;

(14) acquire curiosity, 4/6;

(15) seek understanding via interactions with diverse others (face-to-face focus), 15/18;

(16) social growth, 0/1;

(17) compassion, empathy, concern for others, 5/5;

(18) and responsible citizenship, 4/5.

In Stage 3 of the analysis, I combined categories that were closely related, ultimately reducing the number of categories to nine (I eliminated five categories that appeared only in one mission or supplementary statement, including: (6) internationalism, found only in Macalester's mission; (7) bring about social change, found only in Mount Holyoke's supplementary statement; (10) explore spiritual life, found only in The University of the South's mission; (12) learn to cooperate with others, also found only in Mount Holyoke's supplementary statement; and (17) social growth, which appeared only in Macalester's supplementary statement). The nine final categories were:

(1) acquisition of intellectual mastery and rigor;

(2) learning to value service to community;

(3) learning perspectives from diversity;

(4) developing self-knowledge and growing personally;

(5) developing and nurturing a liberated, creative mind;

(6) gaining an increased capacity for tolerance, respect, and concern for others;

(7) acquiring skills and motivation for social leadership;

(8) developing ethical and moral judgment; and

(9) fostering creativity and imagination.

Table II.6 (previous page) lists the nine categories, indicates which of the 18 original categories were combined to create them, and provides examples of each from the mission statements.

ENDNOTES

[1] I focus on the mission statements of national liberal arts colleges because that is the category of institution within which Macalester College (the institution on which I focus later in the paper) falls. However, the mission statements of most colleges and universities–both public and private–are similar in content to those of liberal arts colleges.

[2] Macalester has had a more uneven record with respect to providing adequate support services for students of color over the past 30 years. While such services have been supplied continuously, their extent and effectiveness have waxed and waned; currently, under President Michael McPherson, they are in a period of growth and increasing strength.

[3] Full details of the methodology may be found in Gudeman (in press). A total of 132 faculty received the questionnaire in May 1998; 81 responded, representing a good cross-section by gender, academic rank, and discipline.

[4] Throughout the paper, reports on individual items specify the number of faculty who responded to the question being discussed. For example, 78 of the 81 faculty respondents answered this question.

[5] As a participant in the Higher Education Research Institute survey, Macalester has access to the data from its campus. A total of 161 faculty received questionnaires; 104 faculty responded.

[6] The fourth value, internationalism, is unique to Macalester among the 28-campus sample of missions described above. No questions on the Higher Education Research Institute survey pertain to internationalism specifically.

[7] One sample t test = 28.45, df = 101, $p<.0001$.

[8] One sample t test = 6.66, df = 99, $p<.0001$.

[9] One sample t test = 2.84, df = 101, $p<.0001$.

[10] Paired two-sided t tests were used to compare the average level of importance that faculty assigned to intellectual development (M = 3.76, SD = .45), community service (M = 2.84, SD = .86) and diverse environment (M = 3.10, SD = .91). On average, faculty assigned intellectual development a higher importance rating than they did diverse environment ($t(101) = 6.882$, $p<.0001$) or community service ($t(99) = 9.839$, $p<.0001$). Diverse environment was rated as significantly more important than community service ($t(99) = 2.803$, $p < .01$).

[11] In this and subsequent reports of individual items on the HERI survey, the indicated number of faculty respondents may be lower than the number of total respondents (104) because not all respondents answered the particular question.

[12] The statistically significant correlation coefficients among these three variables ranged from .41 (teaching about race/ethnicity//preparing for citizenship), to .56 (teaching about race/ethnicity//preparing for community service and also preparing for citizenship// preparing for community service). These correlations were appreciably higher than other significant, but much smaller correlations among the five indices of personal goals. I tested the significance of the difference between paired correlations and found that the correlations among citizenship, community service, and race/ethnicity were significantly larger than the correlations between these variables and teaching clear thinking or teaching Western classics, or the correlation between the latter two variables.

[13] Milem and Hakuta (2000) report that the multi-institutional national sample of faculty surveyed by the Higher Education Research Institute in 1998-99 also overwhelmingly

(over 90 percent) view diversity in the classroom as having educational value for all students (p. 48).

[14] See Appendix II for a description of Carnegie Liberal Arts I colleges.

[15] This information is from the University of Minnesota web site. Total enrollment is found at http://www1.umn.edu/systemwide/factsenrollment.html. Minority enrollments are found at http://www.aamd.umn.edu/mad/soc.enroll.html.

[16] See also Maruyama and Moreno, in this volume.

[17] Further information about the measures and their weight is available at the *U.S News and World Report* web site: http://www.usnews.com/usnews/edu/college/corank.htm.

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The Educational Possibility of Multi-Racial/Multi-Ethnic College Classrooms

PATRICIA MARIN, PH.D.

Many educators believe "that educating *all* students for a diverse society and world is part of an emerging institutional mission–one from which all students might benefit and one for which having students from diverse backgrounds is a genuine asset" (Smith, 1997, p. 11, italics original). However, affirmative action opponents are challenging the race-sensitive means colleges and universities use to create racially and ethnically diverse campuses. The resulting debate about racial and ethnic diversity and affirmative action has led social scientists to try to better understand the dynamics and experiences involved. As part of this effort, many have undertaken empirical studies of racial and ethnic diversity in higher education.

"Since teaching and learning are at the heart of the academic enterprise" (Schneider & Schoenberg, 1998, p. 6), it is important to understand how racial and ethnic changes in the college student population are affecting the environment in individual college classrooms. Yet, most college environment studies focus on the overall institutional environment or campus climate (Smith, 1997), not the classroom environment. Studies of the effects of diversity in the college classroom have focused primarily on either cross-cultural learning between domestic and international students[1] or courses that center on topics of race.[2] In addition, because existing research on cross-racial and cross-ethnic experiences has tended to be quantitative, the qualitative components of the interactions are not clear. Close investigation of the nature of these interactions will help us better understand how and why particular outcomes result from interactions among racially and ethnically diverse students. This paper attempts to do just that by describing a qualitative study of specific interactive multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms.

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The initial purpose of the research presented here was to gain a better understanding of what occurred in interactive, multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms.[3] I wanted to learn about the experiences of faculty members and students, the teaching methods and course content, and the characteristic classroom dynamics in such settings. I therefore designed a qualitative, multiple case study of three interactive, multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms at the University of Maryland, College Park, one-third of whose student population comprises people of color. The classrooms were selected on the basis of a profile arising out of existing studies about classrooms, teaching, and learning. All three courses were primarily for upperclass students. One was an education course geared toward teacher preparation; one was an English literature course; and the third, the only course whose topic centered on issues of race and ethnicity, was in women's studies. Ultimately, I analyzed data I had obtained over the course of a semester from interviews, focus groups, classroom observation, and documents in order to generate themes about faculty and student experiences in racially and ethnically heterogeneous classes that use non-lecture teaching methods.[4] This paper presents a summary of the data, an interpretation of the data, and some thoughts about teaching and learning inspired by the data.

THE EDUCATIONAL VALUE OF MULTI-RACIAL/MULTI-ETHNIC CLASSROOMS

Analysis of the data revealed that each of the three classrooms was characterized by three overarching themes: (1) racial and ethnic diversity is necessary but not sufficient for creating the most effective educational environment; (2) racial and ethnic diversity increases the educational possibilities of the classroom; and (3) multi-racial/multi-ethnic classes enhance educational outcomes.

• Racial and ethnic diversity is necessary but not sufficient for creating the most effective educational environment.

The study's findings indicate that the racial and ethnic diversity of students in a classroom is important to both teaching and learning. As one professor said, "I want people to be able to represent diversity, not just talk about it. So, in fact, I *need* diversity in the classroom." Faculty participants indicated that a multi-racial/multi-ethnic classroom enhances the success of their teaching methods more than a primarily homogeneous class. In addition, students in multi-racial/multi-ethnic classes have a wider range of experiences that can be shared and used to enhance the curriculum. Ultimately, faculty members' learning goals are better achieved in multi-racial/ multi-ethnic classrooms.[5]

Although students and faculty members agreed that multi-racial/multi-ethnic classes are important to teaching and learning, they indicated that the conditions of

such classes are critical if the benefits of racial and ethnic diversity are to be maximized and the disadvantages minimized. In other words, the potential outcomes of a multi-racial/multi-ethnic classroom do not just happen; rather, they need to be "activated."[6] Although racial and ethnic diversity is a necessary condition for achieving the benefits of a multi-racial/multi-ethnic classroom, it is not sufficient in itself. Student diversity is only one characteristic of a successful multi-racial/multi-ethnic classroom. Other elements critical to achieving the full benefits of racial and ethnic diversity include: faculty member characteristics; teaching methods and course content, or pedagogy; and classroom climate.

The faculty member. Both faculty and student participants said that professors' educational philosophies and teaching goals are key to the success of multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms and are indicative of whether faculty members value such classrooms–and, therefore, whether they utilize classroom diversity to improve educational outcomes.

Because faculty members were chosen to participate in the study based on a pre-established profile, it is not surprising that they shared several pedagogical goals and that all said they value classroom diversity. All believed that students have knowledge and experiences that should be shared in the classroom and that the professor is not the only person with knowledge worthy of being taught and learned. These faculty members' philosophy of education is learning-centered, not teaching-centered. Because these teachers value and emphasize students' different experiences, they value having multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms.[7]

Faculty and student participants agreed that faculty members have biases as well as limited knowledge and therefore are considered only one of many classroom participants–and not even the central one. One professor said, "The last thing I want is to be the person that tells people what the diversity in the world is. I want it to speak for itself, and, therefore, it has to be represented. I can share what I've heard about other people, and seen about other situations, but I can't really *be* that." When teachers' limits and students' potential contributions are recognized, the classroom moves toward becoming a learning-centered environment in which teachers become learners and students become teachers. A larger role for students in the classroom highlights the racial and ethnic diversity they bring.

Because of these acknowledged limits, the ways in which they and other faculty members prepare to teach in multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms are in large measure attitudinal. One professor suggested:

> It's not how much I know but that I'm prepared to have this experience. I think I'm good at this. I think I'm good at being open to facilitating everybody teaching each other, and me, too. So that's what you need–that sense of confidence to be able to give permission to people to learn.

When teachers' limits and students' potential contributions are recognized, the classroom moves toward becoming a learning-centered environment in which teachers become learners and students become teachers.

Another professor added, "You have to be more experienced in diversity. You have to learn to understand it in a way that appreciates it and not just tolerates it. You have to get rid of your own stereotypes." Faculty participants suggested that being open to and appreciative of issues of diversity, having confidence in one's teaching ability, invalidating one's own stereotypes, and approaching teaching in multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms as a benefit, not a burden, are basic means of preparation. Faculty members said they felt prepared to teach racially and ethnically diverse classes because they valued the experience, deriving both personal and professional benefits from it, and because they had practice doing it. Nevertheless, they also said they were always trying to improve their teaching by adopting techniques that would help them realize their goals and maximize their classrooms' potential. "Every semester, every course I teach, I do a new trick," one teacher said.

Faculty members felt that their own research and learning had advanced as a result of teaching and interacting with racially and ethnically diverse students. They also said that they needed to expand their own reading to become knowledgeable about a wider range of racial and cultural issues, and they suggested that some teachers of ethnically and racially diverse classes–especially those unfamiliar with the experience–might profit by participating in workshops and seminars that focus on the resources, techniques, and challenges of teaching in such an environment.

Both student and faculty participants emphasized that interaction—in the form of discussion and other active learning techniques—is essential if the potential of multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms is to be maximized.

Faculty members also said that the potentially hard work of preparation is part of a teacher's obligation in any classroom and is central to success in attaining enhanced educational outcomes in multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms. Ultimately, being a reflective teacher who utilizes classroom diversity is critical to enhancing the outcomes of a multi-racial/multi-ethnic classroom.

Pedagogy. Pedagogy–comprising both course content and teaching methods–is inextricably bound up with the individual teacher. Faculty participants said that they develop curricula that include diversity for all their courses, regardless of the racial and ethnic makeup of the class. But including racial and ethnic topics, examples, scholars, and perspectives in course content is especially important for students in multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms; doing so demonstrates that the voices of the dominant white culture are not the only ones worth listening to. As one faculty member said, including a range of issues and scholars allows students to see that these topics and individuals–which may be reflective of the students' own communities–are valued and have academic worth. Moreover, in this kind of open scholarly environment, students feel more comfortable sharing their own opinions.[8]

Both student and faculty participants emphasized that interaction–in the form of discussion and other active learning techniques–is essential if the potential of multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms is to be max-

imized." In fact, student participants included "interaction" as part of their definition of multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms, suggesting that if the diversity of a class was not brought forth through interaction, then the class should not even be considered multi-racial/multi-ethnic, regardless of its composition.

The faculty members I observed used a variety of experiential learning methods in the classroom: small group discussions, student presentations, debates, role playing, problem-posing, and student paper exchanges to increase interaction and discussion among students. They encouraged active student participation and minimized their own role. By using a variety of teaching techniques, the faculty members encouraged students to share their opinions and to teach one another about their differences and similarities, thereby challenging existing stereotypes. One student explained:

> A good professor is really more of a facilitator most of the time. I'm constantly amazed at all the experiences that people in my class have...and they can teach me a lot. And a good professor lets them teach you, and just sort of adds or clarifies and makes sure that her or his lesson gets across. But the rest of the class is going to expand on it.

The less diverse a classroom is, the fewer and less effective are the opportunities to use the full range of interactive teaching methods; often the only choice, which is limiting, is for the professor to lecture about different perspectives.

Students said that discussion allowed them to learn from one another and from mistakes made in the process of interacting. By facilitating discussion, faculty members encourage students to share their experiences. Students said that such discussion shed a more realistic light on many topics and helped them feel more invested in the learning process. "You can only get so much from a book," one student said. "But if you actually have somebody in the class to give you another perspective, it really, really helps."

Many students acknowledged that interactive classes can be more interesting and can feel more "comfortable" than those in which faculty members simply lecture. Interaction and discussion allow students to *experience* their learning of course content. Students believe they learn more from these direct experiences than from class lectures during which they simply take notes. Moreover, lecture-based courses, by their very nature, cannot take advantage of the multi-racial/multi-ethnic dimensions of a class.

Although interactive classes are challenging for some students (and for some teachers), especially when they are not accustomed to them, both students and teachers become more comfortable with them as their experience of them becomes more frequent. While "having to get used to" interactive classes is not unique to multi-racial/multi-ethnic classes, the added component of racial and ethnic diversity magnifies the challenge for many students–as college is

often the first time students enter a heterogeneous environment (Astin, 1993b; Gurin, 1999; Hurtado et al., 1998). Nevertheless, interactive methods provide an opportunity for racially and ethnically diverse students to learn from and become familiar with one another while at the same time helping create an inclusive classroom environment.

The classroom climate. The climate of an interactive, multi-racial/multi-ethnic class is critical to its success. Faculty and students agreed that more effective learning takes place in a multi-racial/multi-ethnic class, but only when the classroom climate is supportive and inclusive. The classroom must be developed as a safe space in which all students can share their opinions and experiences. Students have to feel respected. All types of comments and reactions (except personal attacks) need to be valued. Respectful disagreement should be welcomed, and consensus cannot be forced. One faculty participant described such a classroom as a "both/and" classroom in which alternative viewpoints are encouraged and students have equal "voice time." Examples of student involvement in the classrooms I observed included allowing students to teach the class and incorporating information presented by students into exams.

The physical set-up of a classroom also can contribute to developing an open, supportive climate. For example, arranging seats in a circle and having the professor sit with the students demonstrates that all students are equal and that everyone is encouraged to participate. To summarize, professors need to act as facilitators and to create a classroom setting in which all students are valued and included in the educational process if they are to maximize the benefits of a multi-racial/multi-ethnic class.

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• Racial and ethnic diversity increases the educational possibilities of the classroom.

The three faculty participants in the study said they included similar content, used similar methods, and tried to develop similar classroom climates regardless of the racial and ethnic make-up of their classes; nonetheless, they felt they could best accomplish their goals and enhance their teaching in multi-racial/multi-ethnic classes. They said a multi-racial/multi-ethnic classroom allows for unique educational possibilities: racial and ethnic diversity, combined with a supportive climate, diverse content, and interactive methods, can catalyze and magnify educational potential.[10]

Even if diversity in a classroom does not change a faculty member's teaching methods or course content, it does increase the educational potential of the class for at least two related reasons: First, because faculty members necessarily bring limited experiences to their classrooms, racially and ethnically diverse students broaden the range of authorities that can be brought to bear on subject matter. Second, because diversity in the classroom increases the range of experiences and perspectives that can be shared, stu-

dents collectively generate more complex thoughts when interacting and learning together.

Although the study focused on racial and ethnic diversity, participants referred to situations in which other types of diversity, such as gender and sexual orientation, had increased the educational possibilities of a class. Faculty participants insisted, however, that other types of diversity could not serve as a substitute for racial and ethnic diversity. Instead, they said, each type of diversity contributes something unique to the classroom. Indeed, as study participants pointed out, a truly multi-racial/multi-ethnic classroom had to include white students.

Most of the students in the study said that educational possibilities can be enhanced through interaction across race and ethnicity in all types of disciplines, not just those in which race and ethnicity are related to and incorporated into the syllabus. According to the student participants, race and ethnicity matter for different reasons across different disciplines. Several students suggested that simple social interaction—regardless of discipline—teaches students how to relate to one another across personal differences; such interaction alone can challenge stereotypes and better prepare students to interact with people different from themselves in the workplace and in society. In addition, students said, no academic discipline is free from bias. Students with different perspectives need to be present simply to challenge the scholarship of the discipline. One student explained:

> Things that we think to be so scientific and so "black and white" almost never are. There's always research bias. So much of the scientific research and social science research has been done by white males. It is impossible to think that this is just "correct" and that there aren't biases there.

Although certain topics clearly are more "connected" to issues of race and ethnicity than others, students said that racial and ethnic diversity can enhance all topics. Students did not feel that curricular diversity in itself was essential, but they said that the combination of student interaction, curricular diversity, and structural diversity created educational possibilities not present in classes without these conditions.

Faculty and students admitted that conflict and tension sometimes arose in multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms, but they said that such experiences actually contributed to educational possibility. Whether the conflicts resulted from fear of offending or lack of experience in dealing with individuals of different ethnic or racial backgrounds, students said they learned from them. Faculty participants said they, too, considered such conflicts as representing not negative experiences for students, but useful educational tools. "I don't purposely try to get them to argue and yell and scream, but I certainly know that there are underlying animosities," one faculty member said. "But I want people to find that out.

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The whole point of the class is to realize that these conflicts are very real."

Addressing tensions directly and debating and resolving conflict allows students to learn not only the issues, but also how to handle difficult situations. One student said, "I think people need to keep going into tense situations. That's how you get better at it. You learn to deal with it." Another student added, "The interaction allows for room to make mistakes, and that is how you learn." Students acknowledged that they may feel uncomfortable, but they said such experiences challenge them and allow them to develop in ways they otherwise would not.[11]

Other potential threats to learning can arise in multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms, including such behavior as silencing, stereotyping, tokenism, and negative group dynamics. Some study participants cited their frustration with the kind of stereotyping and tokenism they felt when they were asked to speak on behalf of their racial or ethnic group. Their experiences as tokens often led them to participate less frequently, if at all, in further class discussions (silencing). Participants said that having a "critical mass" of minority students in a class could alleviate the tensions of tokenism because of the support created by allies within a group. But the assumption that students from the same racial or ethnic background will experience affinity with one another is yet another form of stereotyping. Because there is diversity within racial and ethnic groups as well as between them, students of the same race or ethnicity often have different experiences or perspectives, lessening or even eliminating their desire to support or feel supported by one another. If students within a particular racial or ethnic group are very different, subgroup dynamics can develop, causing students to feel that they do not belong to "their own" group or to feel that they must act in a certain way in order to be accepted by the group. Instead of support, students can experience peer pressure, or " negative group dynamics."

Although group dynamics may get in the way of the educational possibilities in multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms, faculty members and students agreed that these impediments can be minimized by using appropriate active learning methods (such as role playing or asking broad questions of the entire class) and by developing an inclusive classroom climate. Faculty participants also cited as a beneficial dynamic the potential for students to bond across racial and ethnic lines because of similarities. One professor referred to this as a "cohesiveness about inequality," while another described it as "sympathetic identity across underrepresented groups." A third professor noted that "for different purposes, the students can ally themselves differently." The dynamics described by these three professors allow students to create their own critical mass even though they may not share the same racial or ethnic background. Once again, obstacles

are accepted as part of the learning experience and are thereby transformed into educational possibilities.

Because they believe that racial and ethnic diversity generates educational possibility, both students and faculty members expressed concern for classrooms that did not have such diversity. Students said classroom diversity is important even in disciplines like math, science, and accounting because biases (e.g., "all Asians are good at math") can be challenged and exposed. Without racial and ethnic diversity in the classroom, important topics and views may not arise. Learning about people who are different happens only theoretically; being around people who are different happens experientially. Students said that theoretical understanding is not as powerful as experiencing difference directly. As one student said, knowing about others' cultures and feeling comfortable interacting with others removes detrimental barriers and alleviates unwarranted fears.

The absence of racial and ethnic diversity diminishes the educational possibilities of a class. One faculty member said that interacting across differences allows students "to see that there is another side from what their experiences have given them. And this happens best in a multi-racial/multi-ethnic classroom." Participants agreed that leaving out entire groups of people prevents students from obtaining a more complete, well-rounded understanding of issues and thereby limits students ability to prepare for the multi-racial/multi-ethnic world they will encounter after college. Faculty members and students in this study did not suggest that learning can take place only in multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms; rather, they said that the absence of diversity in a classroom results in diminished educational opportunity because the educational possibilities available in diverse classrooms simply do not exist in homogeneous classrooms.

• Multi-racial/multi-ethnic classes enhance educational outcomes.

Multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms can facilitate the attainment of important outcomes by both faculty members and their students. Faculty and student participants agreed that learning in such an environment has a positive effect on students' cognitive and personal development. Multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms challenge students' stereotypes, broaden their perspectives, and stimulate critical thinking.

Students compared their experiences in interactive, multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms with their experiences in non-integrated environments. They said that in interactive, multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms, they not only learned more about others and acquired a broader perspective on issues, but they also learned more about themselves. Exposure to others' experiences and viewpoints, students said, made them more aware of their own opinions and biases. In general, multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms expand on course content by engen-

In general, multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms expand on course content by engendering more perspectives, more complicated discussion, and more sophisticated analysis.

dering more perspectives, more complicated discussion, and more sophisticated analysis. Talking about teaching her English course, a faculty member said, "In interpretation, since cultural context is so important, the greater the variety of cultural contexts, the richer the reading the class can make as a whole. When you put all those people thinking through something together, they can get to a more sophisticated analysis than they can on their own."

Faculty members report expanding their own research and writing as a result of interacting with and learning from their students in multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms. In addition, teaching in racially and ethnically diverse classrooms generates a productive cycle: the more diverse their classrooms, the more opportunities faculty members have to experience new situations, and the better prepared they become to teach in other multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms. Similarly, as students have more experience of multi-racial/multi-ethnic classes, they become more comfortable with and better able to take educational advantage of them.

The faculty members involved in this study agreed that having multi-racial/multi-ethnic classes does not directly cause them to change their teaching methods. Rather, factors such as personal values, identity, educational philosophy and goals, and disciplinary trends are most likely to influence decisions about teaching methods and course content.[12]

According to study participants, multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms enhance pedagogy and the opportunity to achieve particular educational goals in ways that cannot be replicated by any other means. For example, racial and ethnic diversity is needed to increase the potential for inclusion of a wider set of experiences around issues of race and ethnicity, as well as other course content. Different possibilities for discussion of course material exist because of the different backgrounds of the students. These broader perspectives provide opportunities to realize such important educational goals as challenging stereotypes and developing critical thinking skills. Finally, particular methods that seek to enhance the range of shared opinions and firsthand experiences work best in multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms because of the greater likelihood that diverse viewpoints will be presented.

Faculty participants said they need diversity to teach to their highest potential and that multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms enable them to be more successful in achieving the outcomes they envision for their classes.

Faculty participants said they need diversity to teach to their highest potential and that multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms enable them to be more successful in achieving the outcomes they envision for their classes. "I need the diversity in class to have people share their experiences," one faculty participant said. "In the multiple people, I get a diverse set of experiences." Overall, then, multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms provide opportunities for the enhancement of curriculum, teaching methods, research, and student and faculty learning outcomes.

CONCLUSION

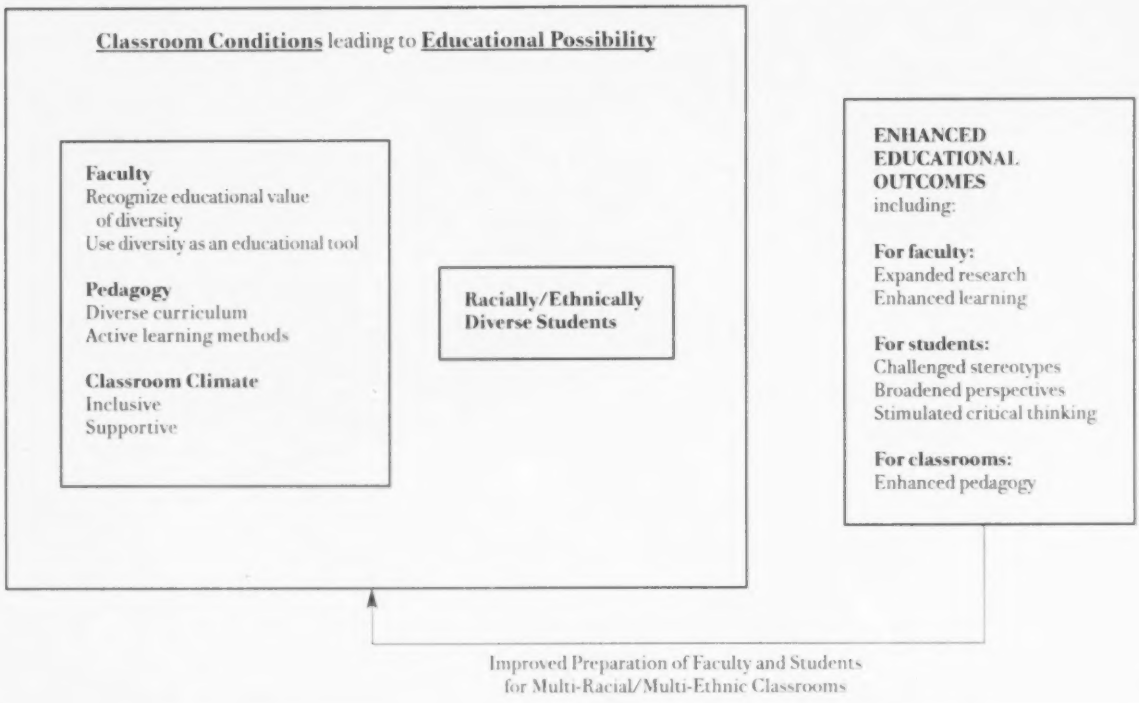
Using the themes identified in this paper and the data I collected, I developed a working hypothesis[11] to interpret these faculty and student experiences of interactive multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms. Figure III presents this hypothesis in schematic form.

The hypothesis suggests that faculty members who recognize and use diversity as an educational tool; who include content related to diversity in their courses; who employ active learning methods; and who create an inclusive, supportive classroom climate can and do produce enhanced educational outcomes in classes comprising a racial and ethnic mix of students. The more frequently faculty members and students experience interactive, multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms, the more prepared they become to teach and interact in other multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms.[14] Ultimately, classrooms must be not only diverse, but they also must be structured and conducted in a way that takes advantage of diversity. Either condition without the other limits the potential educational outcomes.

The University of Maryland, College Park, is one of many higher education institutions that cites the importance of educating students in

Figure III

Working Hypothesis: The Educational Possibility of Interactive, Multi-Racial/Multi-Ethnic College Classrooms



a diverse environment in its mission. To successfully accomplish this mission, the university needs to be able to create a racially and ethnically diverse student body. Then, faculty can have racially and ethnically diverse classrooms that allow them to achieve educational outcomes they otherwise would not be able to achieve. In the absence of diversity, the educational outcomes discussed in this paper would be severely compromised.

Faculty at most colleges and universities do not have the authority to ensure the racial and ethnic diversity of classes at their institutions. Successful attacks on the constitutionality of affirmative action in college admissions are now limiting institutions' authority to ensure racial and ethnic diversity in their student populations. If the observations and conclusions of this study are accurate, these institutions are being denied an important educational tool for preparing students for their own futures as well as that of society. Colleges and universities must continue to vigorously assert their authority to employ race-sensitive admissions policies that have been the most effective means of yielding diverse student populations. In addition to maintaining race-sensitive admissions practices as a primary means of achieving diversity, colleges and universities must also consider supplemental strategies that will contribute to the efficacy of race-sensitive admissions policies. Institutions do and ought to have the right and the responsibility, if such is their mission, to educate a diverse student body for a diverse society; they also must be allowed to use tools that will enable them to achieve such diversity.

APPENDIX III.A Research Design

To address my research questions, I developed a descriptive, multiple case study (Merriam, 1998) of three classrooms at the University of Maryland, College Park (UMCP). Each faculty member and his or her class served as a unique case. Because I was interested in identifying unique cases, I used purposive sampling to select the classes. Selection criteria were developed with regard to several factors: institutional and class characteristics, faculty characteristics, pedagogical techniques, student characteristics, and course content.

I chose classes at the University of Maryland, College Park, because nearly one-third of the institutions' undergraduate population are students of color (Mathias-Riegal, 1998). This high level of institutional student diversity allowed me to select classes in which at least 15 percent of the students were nonwhite.[15] In addition to having a multi-racial/multi-ethnic student population, the University of Maryland has implemented an institution-wide diversity initiative, has required its undergraduates to take one of the approved "diversity CORE courses," and has been involved in the legal defense of one of its race-sensitive programs. Given the many opportunities for exposure to diversity, it is not surprising that the University of Maryland campus community seems generally to be aware of race and ethnicity issues. This awareness provided study participants with a foundation of knowledge and experience on which they could base their responses. (In other words, my study was not the first time they had thought about issues of race and ethnicity.)

Because class size and course structure are key elements in determining the degree of peer interaction, the classes chosen were small enough to allow for student interaction (30 students maximum) and used active learning techniques so as to maximize such interaction. Because many faculty members in the humanities and social sciences report the importance of active learning techniques (Lattuca & Stark, 1995), and because education courses often are similar in structure to humanities and social sciences courses (Biglan, 1973), choosing among courses within those disciplines increased the likelihood of finding professors who employ active learning methods.

Selected classes enrolled predominantly upperclass students, reflecting the conclusions of Baxter Magolda's (1992) research that upperclass students are more likely than younger students to be influenced by their peers. In addition, students who were at least sophomores had already attended enough classes to be able to make comparisons among them. Finally, the faculty members whose classrooms were selected had taught in racially and ethnically homogeneous classrooms as well as in multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms. All of them had taught at the institution for at least nine years, so their experiences covered the period during which the University of Maryland evolved from an overwhelmingly white institution to a more multi-racial/multi-ethnic institution. In determining the final group of classrooms and faculty members, I also attempted to select as diverse a group of faculty as possible. Although all of the class topics would relate in some way to issues of race and ethnicity, only one of the classes I chose focused on these topics.

Data collected over the course of a semester included in-depth interviews with each participating professor, focus groups with students from each of the observed classes, a focus group involving all participating faculty members, classroom observation, and document reviews of course syllabuses and student evaluations.

Data collection and analysis followed Lincoln and Guba's (1985) method of qualitative analysis; inductive reasoning was used to develop themes directly from the data; and research procedures such as triangulation, member checking, inquiry auditing, and peer debriefing were used to establish the trustworthiness of the study. The themes identified to describe faculty and student experiences of interactive multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms ultimately were used to develop a working hypothesis.

APPENDIX III.B Faculty Interview Guide

INTERVIEW ONE

• Gaining an understanding of teaching philosophy:

I'd like to start with a background question. Can you describe your philosophy of education (teaching and learning)?

Potential probes:

- What is the purpose or goal of education?
- What is the role of the professor?
- What is the role of the students?
- What do you hope to accomplish in your classroom?

• Obtaining a definition of "multi-racial/multi-ethnic classroom" from each participant:

Since we'll be talking about your experiences with multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms, it would help if you begin by providing your definition of a "multi-racial/multi-ethnic classroom." (Probe: if "student" component is not mentioned, ask about students.)

Based on your knowledge of and teaching experience at the University of Maryland, College Park, what would you consider a multi-racial/multi-ethnic classroom at this institution?

What about in your college? Your department?

What do your classes tend to look like? Is the class I am observing a demographically "typical" class for you? If not, what does this course typically look like (demographically)?

• General questions:

Please use your definition of "multi-racial/multi-ethnic classroom" to answer the questions in this interview. The first questions I will be asking you are purposefully broad. Therefore, I'd like you to discuss the various items that come to mind.

What has been your experience teaching in multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms (any class, as well as class being observed)?

Have you witnessed changes in your classrooms as a result of the change in racial/ethnic diversity at the University of Maryland? If so, what have you witnessed?

How relevant (important) to your teaching is having multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms?

Have you taught more racially/ethnically homogeneous classrooms at the University of Maryland? If so, what was that like?

Compare the more racially/ethnically homogeneous classes with the multi-racial/multi-ethnic classes that you have taught at the University of Maryland. How have they been similar? How have they been different?

Can you share a specific example/story of how having a multi-racial/multi-ethnic classroom made a difference as compared to a racially/ethnically homogeneous classroom?

In the absence of multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms, is there anything that can replace or mimic that experience for students? For faculty?

When a critical mass of underrepresented students is not present, can anything replace or mimic the experience of critical mass for students?

Throughout this interview, I have dichotomized racially/ethnically homogeneous and multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms. But clearly there is a range of classes in between these two poles. What, if anything, happens as classrooms vary through that range?

Are there any other issues related to multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms that I have not covered during our conversation?

INTERVIEW TWO

- **What characterizes classroom dynamics in interactive, multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms?**

Think of the course I am observing. Consider the most and least multi-racial/multi-ethnic classes of that course you have taught. Have the classroom dynamics differed? If so, how? What aspects? *or*

With regard to classroom dynamics, how has this multi-racially/multi-ethnically diverse class differed from other courses you have taught that have been less racially and ethnically diverse?

Potential probes (depending on information shared in first interview):

- Do class discussions differ? If so, how do they differ, and for which students?
- Do the issues raised or perspectives/experiences shared by students differ? If so, how do they differ, and for which students?
- Do students' questions differ? If so, how do they differ, and for which students?
- Is the discussion of certain issues/topics enhanced? If so, how, and for which students? Which issues/topics?
- Is the discussion of certain issues/topics impeded? If so, how, and for which students? Which issues/topics?
- Do student interaction and behavior differ? If so, how, and for which students?
- Does student motivation differ? If so, how, and for which students?
- Is there a difference in tension/conflict? If so, what is the difference?
- Is there a difference in who participates in class and who does not? If so, what is the difference?
- Are the following different in multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms?
  - The issues students consider? If so, how?
  - The issues students research as class projects? If so, how?
  - Collaboration on group projects? If so, how?
  - Critical reading of course materials? If so, how?

- **What is the nature of student experiences in interactive, multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms?**

What have you witnessed regarding student experiences in multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms? In more racially/ethnically homogeneous classrooms?

What have students told you about their experiences in multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms?

What have students told you about their experiences in more homogeneous classrooms? How are their experiences different when the homogeneity reflects their identity? When the homogeneity does not reflect their identity?

How do you think students feel about the difference between racially/ethnically homogeneous classrooms and multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms? How do you know? What feedback about this have you gotten from students over the years?

How important is it for students to be enrolled in multi-racial/multi-ethnic classes?

So far, we've been talking about interactions among and between students in multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms. Does the mere presence of racially and ethnically diverse "others" make a difference in a classroom? Is visible diversity what is necessary? Or is interaction between and among students essential?

Potential probes (depending on information shared in first interview):

- Are the types of learning opportunities, in general, different in a multi-racial/multi-ethnic classroom? If so, how?
- Do multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms affect students' development?
- What are the benefits and challenges for students in multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms? What are they in more racially/ethnically homogeneous classrooms?

- **What is the nature of pedagogy in interactive, multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms?**

Think of the class I am observing. Has your pedagogy changed as your classrooms have become more multi-racial/multi-ethnic? If so, why and how? If not, why? If your class has always had a multi-racial/multi-ethnic curriculum, have the demographic changes in the class changed the effect of the curriculum?

How was this course taught differently when you first taught it?

Do you try to make use of the students' diversity in your teaching? If so, how? If not, why? If you do, are you concerned about putting the "burden of educating" on members of underrepresented groups?

Potential probes (depending on information shared in first interview):

- Has your teaching method/style changed? If so, how?
- Do you attempt to have students interact across racial/ethnic lines in class discussions, class assignments, and group presentations?
- Has your curriculum/syllabus changed? If so, how?
- Do you raise different topics/issues? Is so, what?
- Do you include different readings? If so, what?
- How do you determine what materials/readings to include?
- Has your role/teaching function in the classroom changed? If so, how?
- Are there other differences in your pedagogy as a result of increased racial and ethnic diversity in your classrooms?
- Have these changes affected classroom dynamics? If so, how?
- You use active/collaborative learning in your classroom. Why?

- **What is the experience of professors who teach interactive, multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms?**

How have you been affected professionally as your classrooms have become more multi-racial/multi-ethnic?

How have you been affected personally as your classrooms have become more multi-racial/multi-ethnic?

Potential probes (depending on information shared in first interview):

- Has your research been affected? If so, how?
- Do you face different demands in classrooms that are more multi-racial/multi-ethnic? If so, what are they? How do you handle these demands?
- What are the personal and professional challenges of teaching a multi-racial/multi-ethnic class? What are they in a more racially/ethnically homogeneous classroom?
- What are the personal and professional benefits of teaching a multi-racial/multi-ethnic class? What are they for a more racially/ethnically homogeneous class?
- Do you feel prepared to teach multi-racial/multi-ethnic classes?
- How can one prepare to teach multi-racial/multi-ethnic classes?
- Have your interactions with students changed as your classes have become more multi-racial/multi-ethnic? Why or why not? If so, how?
- Have your own views about racial/ethnic diversity been affected as a result of teaching multi-racial/multi-ethnic classes?
- Do you think your own identity (racial/ethnic, gender, etc.) affects your teaching in a multi-racial/multi-ethnic classroom? If so, how?
- Are there other ways in which you have been affected by teaching multi-racial/multi-ethnic classes?
- What is your general perception of diversity at UMCP or of how the campus responds to it?

Obtaining a definition of "multi-racial/multi-ethnic classroom" from each participant:

Because we'll be talking about your experiences of multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms, it would help if each of you would provide a definition of a "multi-racial/multi-ethnic classroom." (Probe: if "student" component is not mentioned, ask about students.)

- Based on your knowledge of and experience at the University of Maryland, College Park, what would you consider a multi-racial/multi-ethnic classroom at this institution? What about in your college? Your department?
- Is that what most of the classes you are in look like? If not, what do they look like? What about the class I am observing?

General questions (to use in the first focus group):

Please use your definition of "multi-racial/multi-ethnic classroom" to answer the questions in this interview. The first questions are purposefully broad. Therefore, I'd like you to discuss the various items that come to mind.

- What has been your experience in multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms?
- What have you witnessed in your classes as a result of racial and ethnic student diversity? What about in the class I am observing?
- How important/relevant to your learning is having multi-racial/multi-ethnic classmates? Does it depend on the topic being taught?
- Has the multi-racial/multi-ethnic makeup of the class I am observing made a difference in any way (to your learning, class discussion, etc.)?
- What have you learned–if anything–as a result of interacting with racially and ethnically diverse classmates? What about in this class? Do people interact across racial/ethnic lines? (Probe: is there segregation/integration in terms of where people sit, who talks, who is vocal about certain issues?)
- Compare the more racially/ethnically homogeneous classes with the multi-racial/multi-ethnic classes in which you have been enrolled at the University of Maryland. How are they similar? How are they different? In your comparisons, consider the following:
  - class discussions; issues raised; questions asked
  - student interaction; behavior; participation
  - tension; conflict
- Do faculty who teach multi-racial/multi-ethnic classes use different teaching methods (pedagogy)? Give examples. Can you provide any examples from the class I am observing?
- What teaching methods (pedagogy) seem to be most useful in multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms? Why?
- Are all faculty members prepared to teach multi-racial/multi-ethnic classes? How do you know? Characterize a faculty member who is prepared to teach a multi-racial/multi-ethnic class versus one who is not prepared to do so.
- Can you provide a specific example/story of how having a multi-racial/multi-ethnic class (as compared to a racially/ethnically homogeneous class) made a difference? What about from the class I am observing?
- How do you feel about being in racially/ethnically homogeneous classes versus multi-racial/multi-ethnic classes?
- Are there any other issues that relate to multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms that I have not covered during our conversation?

General probes:

- Does anyone see it differently?
- Are there any other points of view?

The three cases I studied were selected using purposive sampling. The classes were in the humanities, education, and social sciences and had 30 or fewer predominantly upperclass students, at least 15 percent of whom were non-white. The faculty members used active learning techniques, incorporated issues of race and ethnicity in their curricula, and had taught at the University of Maryland for at least nine years. Although qualitative research is not intended to produce generalizations, it can be used to generate "concrete universals" (Erickson, 1986, p. 130) or particular cases that can be used to understand similar cases. By examining the specific details of my cases, readers may determine how closely they resemble their own experiences. Thus, the findings–as well as their implications–may be transferred to similar situations elsewhere.

Using Diversity as an Educational Tool

The faculty members who participated in this study recognize the importance of preparing students for a racially and ethnically diverse world. With this as a goal, they also recognize the value of utilizing student diversity in their classrooms as an educational tool to maximize student learning outcomes. According to the students who participated in the study, these faculty members succeeded in creating classroom climates in which students could interact with and learn from one another. The course content and teaching methods employed by these faculty members, therefore, can reasonably serve as a model for "best practices" with regard to multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms.

Faculty and student participants alike cited educational possibilities and outcomes provided by interactive, multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms that cannot be achieved in homogeneous classrooms. Because these experiences provide opportunities for student learning and development that cannot be duplicated in any other setting, it follows that opportunities for students to participate in interactive, multi-racial/multi-ethnic classes should be maximized. Learning directly from diverse peers, rather than just hearing or reading about different cultures, results in better educational outcomes for both students and society.

To facilitate student interaction, faculty participants used active teaching methods. According to student participants, these practices empower them in class and create new opportunities for interaction outside class.

Study participants also recognized that while it is important for students to learn from one another, it is also important not to place the burden of education on one person or group of people. In other words, "forcing diversity," as several students described it, can be detrimental. Rather, the professor must create a classroom climate in which students feel comfortable participating. Faculty participants, as well as students, suggested that by asking questions of the whole class, instead of addressing one individual, teachers allow multiple students to participate. Students wished that more of their professors taught in this way.

If faculty members are interested in emphasizing what students have to contribute to the learning process, or if they find themselves teaching in multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms, they would do well to consider the techniques set forth in this study. Doing so will allow them to maximize the potential and minimize the challenges of such classrooms. For example, faculty members whose principal teaching method is lecture might consider incorporating more active learning methods. They also might consider diversifying their curriculum and establishing a comfortable classroom climate in which all students feel included and able to participate. By adopting the practices called for by multi-racial/multi-ethnic classes, teachers will enhance the educational possibilities in their classrooms.

Faculty Preparation

Faculty participants indicated that being prepared to teach multi-racial/multi-ethnic classes is important. At the same time, students said that not all faculty members are prepared to teach multi-racial/multi-ethnic classes. If valuable educational opportunities are not to be lost, institutions need to offer their faculties training in how to maximize the educational possibilities of racially and ethnically diverse classes. Faculty members may find the following useful: workshops and seminars on diversifying the curriculum; use of active learning methods; creation of supportive classroom climates; and dealing with negative group dynamics.

ENDNOTES

[1] See, for example, Bevis, 1997, and Neff, 1981.

[2] See, for example, Bidell, Lee, Bouchie, Ward, & Brass, 1994, and Lopez, 1993.

[3] For the purposes of this study, multi-racial/multi-ethnic classrooms are those that provide opportunities for all students to interact with other students from different racial and ethnic groups (Chang, 1996).

[4] For a detailed description of the research design, see Appendix III.A. For the faculty interview guides, see Appendix III.B. For the student focus group guides, see Appendix III.C.

[5] This supports the theory of multicultural education (Banks, 1999), which emphasizes the centrality of race and ethnicity in the educational process.

[6] This observation is consistent with the results of studies by Chang (1996, 1997), Gurin (1999), Hurtado (1997), and Milem (1994). Each of these social scientists has found that the conditions under which diversity is experienced affect the resulting outcomes.

[7] This philosophy of education is reflective of Chickering and Gamson's (1987, 1991) "Seven Principles for Good Practice in Undergraduate Education," which highlights the importance of interaction in improving teaching and learning in college classrooms.

[8] The research of Adams and Zhou-McGovern (1994), Astin (1993a), Hurtado (1997), Lopez (1993), Peterka (1998), and Villalpando (1994) supports the potential educational benefits of diversity within the curriculum.

[9] This is supported by studies conducted by Chang (1996, 1997), Hurtado (1997), and Milem (1994).

[10] This conclusion supports studies by Meacham et al. (1999) and Gurin (1999), which describe educational outcomes of racially and ethnically diverse classrooms.

[11] Confirming the educational value of conflict, Palmer suggests, "There is no knowing without conflict" (1987, p. 25). Furthermore, "A healthy community... includes conflict at its very heart, checking and correcting and enlarging the knowledge of individuals by drawing on the knowledge of the group" (p. 25). Johnson, Johnson, and Smith (1996) also support using conflict as a learning experience in the classroom. They argue that intellectual conflict needs to be included in college classrooms because "arousing intellectual conflict is one of the most important and powerful instructional procedures available to college faculty" (p. iii).

[12] This supports findings by Stark, Lowther, Bentley, and Martens (1990), Stark, Lowther, Bentley, Ryan et al. (1990), Milem and Astin (1994), Milem and Wakai (1996), and Hurtado (1997). These studies indicate that faculty pedagogy is influenced by factors such as faculty gender and racial background, discipline orientation, and educational philosophy.

[13] "Working hypothesis" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) is a term used to describe the data interpretation resulting from a study in which broad generalization is not possible. There are not enough cases to be able to develop a theory or model. According to Lincoln & Guba (1985), "...the 'working hypotheses' are tentative both for the situation in which they are first uncovered and for other situations...." Based on context, determinations need to be made as to whether the working hypothesis applies to other situations.

[14] See Appendix III.D for a discussion of "Implications for Practice."

[15] Non-white categories at UMCP include African American, Asian American, Latino, and Native American. The sum of these four groups provides the "non-white" percentage for each class. Foreign students are not included in this count.

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Faculty Classroom Diversity Questionnaire

This instrument is the first comprehensive survey of faculty members' attitudes toward diversity at their institutions and in their own classrooms.

Please indicate your answer to each question by filling in the oval representing the category which best describes your views on the issue. Throughout the questionnaire, "racially/ethnically diverse students" and "minority students" refer to African American, Asian Pacific American, Latino, and Native American students. For the purposes of this survey, students of any racial/ethnic backgrounds from countries other than the U.S. are not included in the definition of diversity, unless specifically referred to as "internationally diverse students."

Marking instructions:

1. Select only one response.
2. Blacken in each oval completely, using a number 2 pencil.
3. If you erase, erase completely.

INCORRECT MARKS CORRECT MARK

	5-15	16-25	26-35	36-50	50-100	100+	Not Applicable
1a. What is the average number of students in the undergraduate courses you teach at your current institution?	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	○
1b. What is the average number of students in the graduate courses you teach at your current institution?	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	○

	0-5%	6-10%	11-15%	16-25%	26-40%	Over 40%	Don't Know
2. What is the largest percentage of minority students ever enrolled in one of your courses at your current institution?	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	○
3. What percentage of minority students would you consider to constitute a racially/ethnically diverse classroom in your current department?	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	○

QUESTIONS 4 THROUGH 8 ARE ABOUT YOUR CURRENT INSTITUTION.

	Lowest Priority				Highest Priority	Not Applicable	Don't Know
4a. How high a priority do you believe it is at your current institution to create a diverse campus environment?	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○
4b. How high a priority do you believe it is in your department to create a diverse departmental environment?	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○

	Strongly Disagree				Strongly Agree	Not Applicable	Don't Know
5a. This campus is very committed to enhancing the campus climate for all students.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○
5b. My department is very committed to enhancing the climate for all students.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○
6. This campus sponsors extra-curricular activities that promote cultural awareness and racial understanding among students.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○
7. Too much emphasis on racial/ethnic diversity has lowered the quality of the institution.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○
8. Too much emphasis on racial/ethnic diversity has lowered the quality of the students who are admitted.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○

QUESTIONS 9 THROUGH 12 ARE ABOUT THE CLASSES YOU HAVE TAUGHT.

	Never				All the time	Not Applicable	Don't Know
9a. Minority students have raised issues/perspectives in your classroom that have not been raised by non-minority students.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○
9b. Racial/ethnic diversity in your classroom allows for a broader variety of experiences to be shared.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○
9c. Racial/ethnic diversity in your classroom impedes the discussion of substantive issues.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○

	Never				All the time	Not Applicable	Don't Know
10a. Interactions between students from different racial/ethnic backgrounds in your classroom create tensions and arguments along racial/ethnic lines.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○
10b. Participation in classroom discussion by students of a particular racial/ethnic group is increased by the presence of other students from the same racial/ethnic group.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○
10c. A critical mass of students of a particular racial/ethnic group is important to their participation in your classroom.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○

11. How important is interaction between the students of different racial/ethnic backgrounds in your classroom to each of the following:	Completely Unimportant				Very Important	Not Applicable	Don't Know
a. Helping students develop their ability to think critically.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○
b. Affecting the development of students' leadership abilities.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○
c. Helping students develop a willingness to examine their own perspectives and values.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○
d. Exposing students to perspectives with which they disagree or do not understand.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○

12. How important do you think the following classroom characteristics are in contributing to the quality of learning in your classroom?	Completely Unimportant				Very Important	Not Applicable	Don't Know
a. A gender balanced classroom.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○
b. A classroom with representation from diverse U.S. races/ethnicities.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○
c. A classroom with international diversity.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○
d. A classroom with students with diverse working experiences.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○
e. A classroom with students from a range of age groups.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○
f. A classroom with students having diverse academic majors.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○
g. A classroom with students having diverse career goals.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○
h. A classroom with religious diversity.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○
i. A classroom with socio-economic diversity.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○
j. A classroom with representation from different regions of the country.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○

SKIP QUESTION 13 IF YOU DO NOT HAVE TEACHING ASSISTANTS.

	Completely Unimportant				Very Important	Not Applicable	Don't Know
13. How educationally important is having racially/ethnically diverse teaching assistants to your courses?	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○

FOR QUESTIONS 14 THROUGH 16 CONSIDER COURSES WHERE DISCUSSION IS AN IMPORTANT PART OF THE CLASSROOM EXPERIENCE.

	0-5%	6-10%	11-15%	16-25%	26-40%	Over 40%	Don't Know
14. What is the largest percentage of minority students enrolled in one of your courses in the past 5 years?	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	○
15. What is the smallest percentage of minority students enrolled in one of your courses in the past 5 years?	①	②	③	④	⑤	⑥	○

IF ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS 14 AND 15 ARE THE SAME, SKIP QUESTION 16.

16. Compare the most and least racially/ethnically diverse classes you have taught in the past 5 years:	Never				All the time	Not Applicable	Don't Know
a. Race/ethnic issues are discussed more substantively in your diverse classroom than your homogeneous classroom.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○
b. Students in your racially/ethnically diverse classroom are more likely to incorporate relevant racial and ethnic issues in their assignments.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○

17. Students in your racially/ethnically diverse classrooms are more likely than students in your homogeneous classrooms to be challenged about stereotypes they might have concerning:	Never				All the time	Not Applicable	Don't Know
a. Social/political issues.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○
b. Racial/ethnic issues.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○
c. Substantive issues in your field.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○
d. Personal experiences.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○

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18. Over the years, the presence of racially/ethnically diverse *students* in any of your classrooms has been a factor in prompting you to:

	Strongly Disagree				Strongly Agree	Not Applicable	Don't Know
a. Raise multiple racial/ethnic issues in your classroom.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○
b. Adjust your course syllabus to include racial/ethnic issues and more racially/ethnically related readings in your courses.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○
c. Develop new course offerings that would include racial/ethnic issues.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○
d. Re-examine criteria for evaluation of students.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○
e. Change your pedagogy to encourage more discussion and interaction among students of different racial/ethnic backgrounds.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○

19. Over the years, contact with racially/ethnically diverse *faculty* at your current institution has been a factor in prompting you to:

	Strongly Disagree				Strongly Agree	Not Applicable	Don't Know
a. Raise multiple racial/ethnic issues in your classroom.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○
b. Adjust your course syllabus to include racial/ethnic issues and more racially/ethnically related readings in your courses.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○
c. Develop new course offerings that would include racial/ethnic issues.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○
d. Re-examine criteria for evaluation of students.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○
e. Change your pedagogy to encourage more discussion and interaction among students of different racial/ethnic backgrounds.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○

20. Think about the class you teach that has the greatest amount of student interaction. What percent of class time is spent on:

a. Lecture/teacher-centered learning?		b. Teacher-student shared responsibility; student-centered whole class instruction/activity?		c. Small group activities?		d. Individual student work time?		e. Other? (please describe) _____	
⓪⓪ ①① ②② ③③ ④④ ⑤⑤ ⑥⑥ ⑦⑦ ⑧⑧ ⑨⑨	+	⓪⓪ ①① ②② ③③ ④④ ⑤⑤ ⑥⑥ ⑦⑦ ⑧⑧ ⑨⑨	+	⓪⓪ ①① ②② ③③ ④④ ⑤⑤ ⑥⑥ ⑦⑦ ⑧⑧ ⑨⑨	+	⓪⓪ ①① ②② ③③ ④④ ⑤⑤ ⑥⑥ ⑦⑦ ⑧⑧ ⑨⑨	+	⓪⓪ ①① ②② ③③ ④④ ⑤⑤ ⑥⑥ ⑦⑦ ⑧⑧ ⑨⑨	= 100%

ANSWER QUESTIONS 21a-d WITH RESPECT TO THE CLASS IN QUESTION 20.

	Never				All the time	Not Applicable	Don't Know
21a. Interaction among the students of different racial/ethnic backgrounds in your classroom exposes students to perspectives with which they disagree or do not understand.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○
21b. Racial/ethnic diversity in your classroom allows for a broader variety of experiences to be shared.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○
21c. A critical mass of students of a particular racial/ethnic group is important to their participation in your classroom.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○
21d. Minority students have raised issues/perspectives in your classroom that have not been raised by non-minority students.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○

SKIP QUESTIONS 22-24 IF YOU DO NOT DO RESEARCH.

	Not At All				Extensively	Not Applicable	Don't Know
22. What is the extent to which the presence of racially/ethnically diverse students in your classroom has affected your research?	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○
23. What is the extent to which the presence of racially/ethnically diverse faculty on campus has affected your research?	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○

	Strongly Disagree				Strongly Agree	Not Applicable	Don't Know
24. Having a racially/ethnically diverse research team increases my own learning.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○

	Very Negatively		No Effect		Very Positively	Not Applicable	Don't Know
25. How have your own views about racial/ethnic diversity been affected by racially/ethnically diverse classrooms?	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○

PLEASE DO NOT WRITE IN THIS AREA

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SKIP QUESTION 26 IF STUDENTS IN YOUR CLASSES DO NOT DO RESEARCH.

	Strongly Disagree				Strongly Agree	Not Applicable	Don't Know
26. Students in more racially/ethnically diverse classes conduct their research on different types of topics than students in more homogeneous classrooms.	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○

27. How does having students of other racial/ethnic groups in your classroom affect white students in:	Very Negatively		No Effect		Very Positively	Not Applicable	Don't Know
a. The issues they consider?	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○
b. The issues they research through class projects?	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○
c. Collaboration on group projects?	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○
d. Critical reading of course materials?	①	②	③	④	⑤	○	○

28. In your experience, how does discussion among students in a racially/ethnically diverse classroom compare with discussion in a racially/ethnically homogeneous classroom regarding:

a. Topics covered or introduced by the students? _____

b. Types of interactions? _____

c. Type of learning that occurs? _____

d. Critical reading of course materials? _____

29. Do you have any additional comments on the issues covered in this questionnaire?

BACKGROUND QUESTIONS

30. What is your principal activity in your current position at this institution? (Mark one)

① Administration
② Teaching
③ Research
④ Services to clients and patients
⑤ Other (please specify) _____

31. Do your interests lie primarily in teaching or research?

① Very heavily in research
② In both, but leaning toward research
③ Equally in both research and teaching
④ In both, but leaning toward teaching
⑤ Very heavily in teaching

32. Are you considered a full-time employee of your institution for at least nine months of the current academic year? (Mark one)

① Yes, full-time
② No, part time

33. What is your present academic rank? (Mark one)

① Do not hold rank designation
② Professor
③ Associate Professor
④ Assistant Professor
⑤ Lecturer/Instructor
⑥ Other (please specify) _____

34a. Birthplace:

① United States
② Other (please specify) _____

34b. If you were not born in the U.S., when did you arrive in the U.S.?

19 ⓪①②③④⑤⑥⑦⑧⑨

35. Are you a U.S. citizen?

① Yes
② No

36. Racial/Ethnic Group: (Mark all that apply)

① White/Caucasian
② African American/Black
③ American Indian
④ Mexican American/Chicano
⑤ Puerto Rican
⑥ Other Latino/Hispanic (please specify) _____
⑦ Chinese American/Chinese
⑧ Filipino American/Filipino
⑨ Japanese American/Japanese
⑩ Korean American/Korean
⑪ Southeast Asian (Vietnamese, Laotian, Cambodian, etc.)
⑫ Other Asian American/Asian (please specify) _____

⑬ Other (please specify) _____

37. Your sex:

① Male
② Female

38. How would you characterize your political views? (Mark one)

① Far Left
② Liberal
③ Moderate
④ Conservative
⑤ Far Right

39. Please fill in the most appropriate code from the enclosed academic field list. (If you have two responses use two codes.)

a. Present principal teaching field(s).	⓪⓪ ①① ②② ③③ ④④ ⑤⑤ ⑥⑥ ⑦⑦ ⑧⑧ ⑨⑨	⓪⓪ ①① ②② ③③ ④④ ⑤⑤ ⑥⑥ ⑦⑦ ⑧⑧ ⑨⑨
b. Department(s) of current faculty appointment	⓪⓪ ①① ②② ③③ ④④ ⑤⑤ ⑥⑥ ⑦⑦ ⑧⑧ ⑨⑨	⓪⓪ ①① ②② ③③ ④④ ⑤⑤ ⑥⑥ ⑦⑦ ⑧⑧ ⑨⑨
c. Present field(s) of research, scholarship, creativity	⓪⓪ ①① ②② ③③ ④④ ⑤⑤ ⑥⑥ ⑦⑦ ⑧⑧ ⑨⑨	⓪⓪ ①① ②② ③③ ④④ ⑤⑤ ⑥⑥ ⑦⑦ ⑧⑧ ⑨⑨

40. Please mark the last two digits of the year of each of the following:

a. Year of birth	b. Year of appointment at present institution	c. If tenured, year tenure was awarded
19 ⓪⓪ ①① ②② ③③ ④④ ⑤⑤ ⑥⑥ ⑦⑦ ⑧⑧ ⑨⑨	19 ⓪⓪ ①① ②② ③③ ④④ ⑤⑤ ⑥⑥ ⑦⑦ ⑧⑧ ⑨⑨	19 ⓪⓪ ①① ②② ③③ ④④ ⑤⑤ ⑥⑥ ⑦⑦ ⑧⑧ ⑨⑨

41. Please indicate the number of years you have spent in college/university teaching.

⓪⓪
①①
②②
③③
④④
⑤⑤
⑥⑥
⑦⑦
⑧⑧
⑨⑨

42. How many of the following courses are you teaching this academic year? (Fill in one response for each item.) (Note: if you are not teaching this year, apply to the year most recently completed at your current institution.)

	0	1	2	3	4	5+
a. Undergraduate courses	⓪	①	②	③	④	⑤
b. Non-BA credit courses (developmental and/or remedial)	⓪	①	②	③	④	⑤
c. Graduate courses and/or Professional courses	⓪	①	②	③	④	⑤
d. Total number of courses	⓪	①	②	③	④	⑤

43. During the past five years, have you engaged in any of the following activities? (Mark one for each item.)

	No	Yes
a. Taught an ethnic studies course	①	②
b. Taught a course that included issues on racial or ethnic minorities	①	②
c. Conducted research or writing focused on racial or ethnic minorities	①	②
d. Taught a women's studies course	①	②
e. Taught a course that included issues on women or gender	①	②
f. Conducted research or writing focused on women or gender	①	②
g. Attended a racial/cultural awareness workshop	①	②
h. Participated in a faculty curriculum development activity designed to integrate women's and minorities' perspectives into courses	①	②
i. Participated in a faculty development activity focused on teaching racially/ethnically diverse students	①	②

44. Estimate the percentage of racial/ethnic minorities at the institution from which you received your undergraduate degree.

0-5% ① 6-10% ② 11-15% ③ 16-25% ④ 26-40% ⑤ Over 40% ⑥

45. Estimate the percentage of racial/ethnic minorities at the institution from which you received your highest graduate degree.

0-5% ① 6-10% ② 11-15% ③ 16-25% ④ 26-40% ⑤ Over 40% ⑥

	No	Yes
46a. Was your undergraduate education at a historically Black or predominantly minority-serving institution?	①	②
46b. Was your undergraduate education at an institution outside the United States?	①	②
47a. Was your graduate education at a historically Black or predominantly minority-serving institution?	①	②
47b. Was your graduate education at an institution outside the United States?	①	②

48. How well prepared do you feel you are to teach/work in a racially/ethnically diverse environment?

Not Prepared ① ② ③ ④ Very Prepared ⑤

49. How comfortable do you feel teaching/working in a racially/ethnically diverse environment?

Not Comfortable ① ② ③ ④ Very Comfortable ⑤

50. How important is having a racially/ethnically diverse student body to your institution's mission?

Not Important/ Irrelevant ① ② ③ ④ Extremely Important ⑤

51. How important is having a racially/ethnically diverse faculty to your institution's mission?

Not Important/ Irrelevant ① ② ③ ④ Extremely Important ⑤

52. Do you initiate discussion of racial/ethnic issues in your classroom?

Never ① ② ③ ④ Very Often ⑤

53. Do you attempt to have students work across racial/ethnic lines in class assignments and group presentations?

Never ① ② ③ ④ Very Often ⑤

54. Please list 3 or 4 reasons that explain your responses in items 50-53.

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